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ABSTRACT

Papers included in this volume are: "The Muted Voice of Immigrant Workers;" "The Situation of Foreign Workers in Sweden"; "Situation of Foreign Workers in the Federal Republic of Germany"; "Teaching German to Immigrant Children"; "Using Language Typology in Contrastive Studies"; "On Determining Developmental Stages in Natural Second Language Acquisition"; "Ordering Adult Learners According to Language Abilities"; "Some Remarks on Foreigner Talk"; "Some Minimal Requirements for the Teaching of Language to Foreign Workers"; "What Language Does the Immigrant Need?"; "What May Be the Use of Linguistics?"; "The Role of Phonetics in Language Teaching"; "Failure of a Language Transfer System Based on the Ideology and Models of Learning of the Country of Production"; "Teaching German to Turkish Migrants in West Berlin"; and "What Kind of Research Do We Need?" Other papers include "Semilingualism and the Education of Migrant Children as a Means of Reproducing the Caste of Assembly Line Workers"; "Verbal and Non-Verbal Communicative Behaviour of Turkish and Greek Workers"; "The Linguistic Development of Immigrant Children in Sweden"; "The Educational Problems of Finnish Immigrants in Sweden"; "What Foreign Workers Think About..."; and "What Kind of Research Do We Need? Some Remarks on Research Politics and Research Morals." (MSE)

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ROLIG papir

Norbert Dittmar,
Hartmut Haberland,
Tove Skutnabb-
Kangas and
Ulf Teleman (eds.):

Papers from the
First Scandinavian-
German Symposium
on the Language of
Immigrant Workers
and their Children
Roskilde,
19 – 23 March, 1978

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Roskilde UniversitetsCenter
Lingvistgruppen

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ROLIG-papir 12
Roskilde Universitetscenter
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Norbert Dittmar, Hartmut Haberland, Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Ulf Teleman (eds.)

PAPERS FROM THE FIRST SCANDINAVIAN-GERMAN SYMPOSIUM ON THE LANGUAGE OF IMMIGRANT WORKERS AND THEIR CHILDREN

Roskilde 19-23 March, 1978

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Roskilde Universitetscenter
September 1978

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1. Utz Maas: Sprachtheorie (udsolgt/out of print)

2. Per Åge Brandt: Om sprogets samfundsmæssighed (udsolgt/out of print)

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6. Frans Gregersen m.fl.: Revideret udgave af introduktionerne og kapitelindledningerne til antologien „Klassesprog"

7. Ulf Teleman: How to be concrete in linguistics

8. Ulf Teleman: (1) On causal conjunction in Swedish (2) Språk och socialisation. Reflexioner över reflexioner (3) Grammatikens tillstånd och behov

9. Hartmut Haberland: Review of Bente Maegaard m.fl., Matematik og lingvistik

10. Andrew Tolson: Approaches to language in cultural studies
    Ulrich Ammon: Probleme soziolinguistischer Theoriebildung am Beispiel von Dialekt und Einheitssprache.

11. Ulf Teleman: Språkriktighet i och utanför skolan

12. Norbert Dittmar, Hartmut Haberland, Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Ulf Teleman (eds.): Papers from the First Scandinavian-German Symposium on the Language of Immigrant Workers and their Children, Roskilde 19-23 March, 1978.

PREFACE

The First Scandinavian-German Symposium on the Language of Immigrant Workers and Their Children was held March 19 - 23 at Roskilde, Denmark.

The objective of the symposium was to discuss research in progress on the language situation of immigrant workers and their children. Projects concerning the teaching of the host countries' languages were to be included.

It was considered fruitful to confront the different research traditions in West Germany and Scandinavia with each other. The participants were to discuss theoretical and methodological problems which arise, particulary where the linguistic aspects are not isolated from pedagogical considerations or psychological, social and political conditions of immigrant teaching.

Time was spared for a discussion of research needs and research policies, and the participants tried to specify where knowledge already available could be used, or where it could be used more appropriately.

The symposium and this report were sponsored by Nordisk Kulturfond. The local sponsor of the symposium was the Institute of Language Use, Socialization and Science Research of Roskilde University Center, whose successor (in part) after the reorganisation of RUC in April 1978, the Institute of Danish, English, French and German, also supported the printing of this report.

A lot of people helped us with general encouragement, and at more specialised tasks, in preparing this report. In particular, we want to thank Christina Palmquist and Birte Christensen (RUC) and Kirsten Albjerg (Rasmus Rask Institute of Linguistics, Odense University) for typing assistance, and Robert Phillipson (RUC) and Jacob Mey (Odense University) for help with our and other peoples' English.

The language of the report is the responsibility of the contributors alone. Any similarity with the English language spoken and written in the U.K. or in the U.S. is purely accidental. Nevertheless the editors have good reason to suspect that the message of the authors is fully understandable. Or as Wilfried Stölting put it (see p. 108 below): A language in international use deserves all it gets.

The report starts off with to poems. They illustrate very convincingly, each in its own way,how Scandinavia is experienced by its immigrants. The Turkish song was presented on tape in Finn Korzen's lecture and the poem by Guilem Rodrigues da Silva, a Brazilian refugee in Sweden, was translated and recited at the conference.

The next part of the report consists of descriptions of the projects which were represented at the symposium.

The central part of the volume contains the papers and most of the discussions which followed them. They appear in the order in which the papers were presented at the conference. The minutes of the discussions were taken by Ingeborg Senft and Bert-Olaf Rieck (Tuesday morning session), Hartmut Haberland (Tuesday afternoon,Wednesday morning and Thursday afternoon sessions) and Manfred Pienemann (Thursday morning session).

We have also printed some afterthoughts, i. e. delayed reactions to the provocations of the symposium. In the same section some papers have been included which were prepared for, but not delivered at the symposium.

Norbert Dittmar
Hartmut Haberland
Tove Skutnabb-Kangas
Ulf Teleman

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Two Poems

A CRIAÇÃO DO PARAISO

No principio era a neve
e a terra era toda branca
e o Pensamento pairava sobre o abismo
perseguido sem descanso
abandona o refugiado suas raizes
e um lugar deve ser criado
onde um refugiado possa descansar

No segundo dia disse o Pensamento:
Haja um paraiso -
e o paraiso surgiu
da noite branca e fria
Na porta do paraiso havia um nome
misterioso, de difícil pronúncia
e lentamente leu o refugiado: Boltâfta
A porta do paraiso havia uma mulher
com os braços abertos sem abraçar ninguém

Rápidamente ela contou sobre as belezas do paraiso
sobre tudo que ali havia e o refugiado
sorriu encantado
Como te chamas?
Suécia, disse a mulher
e o refugiado repetiu lentamente
Suécia
e a mulher sorriu abrindo os braços
mas sem abraçar ninguém

No terceiro dia disse o Pensamento a mulher:
Mostra-lhe a cidade em toda sua beleza!
Malmö era bonita, limpa e bem organizada
onibus e trens saiam e chegavam no horário
os homens velhos saudavam tirando o chapéu
e o refugiado sentiu-se bem e sorriu
para a mulher de braços abertos
sem abraçar ninguém

No quarto dia deu-lhe o Pensamento a ilusão
de que seria possivel falar com a gente na rua

No quinto dia disse o Pensamento:
Haja uma casa para o refugiado
e de repente ali estava a casa
confortável com aluguel subvencionado

No sexto dia disse o Pensamento:
Não é bom que refugiado esteja só -
e ela, a de braços abertos sem abraçar ninguém
levou o refugiado a uma fábrica
onde ele ficou sozinho
na companhia de inúmeros irmãos silenciosos
e começou a trabalhar como eles

Então disse o Pensamento ao refugiado:
De todas as delícias do paraiso poderás gozar
por exemplo:
uma caixa para os desempregados e ajuda social
liberdade sindical e seguro de saude para todos
dentro em pouco poderás votar na eleição comunal
e depois de sete anos no país poderás tornar-te
cidadão do paraiso ocidental
Mas uma delicía, uma única, jamais poderás gozar
a de sentir-te somo em tua própria terra
estrangeiro serás sempre chamado
e para ti mesmo serás sempre um forasteiro

E foi a manhã e a tarde do sétimo dia
e viu o Pensamento que tudo que havia feito
era bom e descansou

Guilem Rodrigues da Silva
Lund, Suécia

THE CREATION OF PARADISE

In the beginning was the snow
and the world was white
and Thought was upon the face of the deep
The refugee on his way from his persecutors
Restlessly fleeing, abandons his roots
– And a place has to be found to let a refugee rest

On the second day Thought spoke:
let a paradise be created -
And a paradise rose
from the white and frozen night
At the gate of the paradise there was a name
an enigmatic name, hard to pronounce
and slowly the refugee read: Bultofta
At the gate of the paradise there was a woman
who had her arms open without embracing anyone

She spoke quickly about the wonders of paradise
about all the things that were there and the refugee
smiled joyfully
What's your name?
Sverige, answered the woman
and the refugee repeated slowly
Esverige
and the woman smiled and opened her womb
but without embracing anyone

On the third day Thought spoke to the woman:
Show him the city in all its beauty!
Malmö was beautiful, clean and well-organized
Buses and trains arrived and left on schedule
Elderly gentlemen touched their hats in greeting
and the refugee felt happy and he smiled
to the woman who had her arms open
but without embracing anyone

On the fourth day Thought gave him the illusion
that it would be possible to talk to the people in the streets

On the fifth day Thought spoke:
Let a dwelling be created for the one who is a refugee
And suddenly the dwelling was there
Comfortable, and with a rent subvention

On the sixth day Thought spoke:
it is not good for a refugee to be alone
and she who had her arms open without embracing anyone
took the refugee into a factory where he found himself
alone together with innumerable other
silent brothers
and he started working like them

Then Thought spoke to the refugee:
All the delightful things in paradise you may enjoy freely
such as for example:
an unemployment fund and social security
freedom to join your union and health insurance for all
before long you will be allowed to vote in your local elections
and after seven years in the country you may even
acquire citizenship in our Western paradise
But one delight, a single one, you will never be allowed to taste:
to feel yourself as in your own country
A foreigner you will forever be called
and to yourself you will always remain a stranger

And it became morning and evening the seventh day
and Thought looked at everything it had done
and found that it was good and rested thereupon

Translated by
Jacob Mey

„Mange tak" sözleri teşekkür eder
Küçüğü büyüğü hep dansa gider
Türkleri görünce yüzleri güler
Danimarka güzelleri
Güzelleri güzelleri
Meget smuk pige'leri

„Vil du danse?" dersin yüzüne bakar
Seni beğenirse „ja" ile kalkar
Eğer hoşuna gidersen beraber yatar
Danimarka güzelleri
Güzelleri güzelleri
Meget dejlig pige'leri

Uğurlarken „farvel farvel" denilir
Kadın erkek hepsi aynı giyinir
Yatar iken çırıl çıplak soyunur
Danimarka güzelleri
Güzelleri güzelleri
Meget smuk pige'leri

„Undskyld" söylüyor özür dilemek
Burda ayıp değil danslara gitmek
İşleri güçleri bol Tuborg içmek
Danimarka güzelleri
Güzelleri güzelleri
Dejlig dejlig pige'leri

Ramazan Yaşar ORUÇ - Adem ÖZCAN

„Mange tak," they say, when they say thanks.
Both young and old go out dancing.
And they smile when they see a Turk.
Oh, the Danish beauties, the lovely girls.

„Vil du danse"? you say. She looks at you
and gets up with a "yes" if she likes you.
And if she likes you alot, she'll sleep with you.
Oh, the Danish beauties, the groovy girls.

„Farvel, farvel," they say, when they leave.
Woman and men dress alike,
and they strip when they go to bed.
Oh, the Danish beauties, the lovely girls.

„Undskyld," they say, when they wish to be excused.
But going out dancing is nothing to be ashamed of.
And they love to get filled up with Tuborg.
Oh, the Danish beauties, the groovy girls.

Translated by
Jonathan Schwartz

Project Descriptions

FOREIGN LANGUAGE ACQUISITION: How to Teach German to Immigrant Workers.

Staff: Hans Barkowski, M.A.
Ulrike Harnisch, Dr. phil.
Sigrid Kumm, M.A.

Address: Projekt DfaA
Freie Universität Berlin
FB 16, Lehrstuhl Heinrichs
Habelschwerdter Allee 45
1000 Berlin 33

Time: November 1974 - June 1978

Financed by: Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, Bonn

Our intention is to improve the situation of immigrant workers by developing methods of language teaching which are appropriate to their needs and to their situation.

We have been working in German courses with Turkish workers during the last 5 years and have developed a theory of language teaching for immigrant workers as well as a model of teaching.

This model was tested scientifically with a group of 15 Turkish workers in a big Berlin factory. The workers were taught German in three 3-month-courses during one year. The process og language acquisition during this year was recorded on tape and is now being investigated by the staff.

Our questions are:
Is there any language teaching success to be seen?
Which fields of the courses were accepted by the learners? Which had really an influence on their speech?
Which parts of their pidgin systems remained unchanged?

The results of these investigations
- will determine the revision of our language teaching model;
- will enable us to give a number of recommendations - warranted by the empirical investigation - for German courses for immigrant workers.

These recommendations - concerning organization and methods of language teaching for foreign workers - will be published in a handbook for teachers and will be used for teachers' instruction.

For further information, we include a project description in German (on the following pages).

THEORIE UND PRAXIS DES FREMDSPRACHENERWERBS: DEUTSCH FÜR AUSLÄNDISCHE ARBEITER

Projektleiter: *Prof. Dr. H. Matthias Heinrichs (Germanistik);*
Fachbereich 16, Freie Universität, Habelschwerdter Allee 45, 100 Berlin

Mitarbeiter: *Hans Barkowski, M.A. (Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter; Germanistik,Grammatiktheorie);*
Dr. Ulrike Harnisch (Wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin; Germanistik, Pragmalinguistik);
Sigrid Kumm, M.A. (Wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin; Germanistik, Soziolinguistik).
(An der Ausarbeitung des sozialpolitischen Rahmens des Projekts, der sozialisationstheoretischen Grundlegung un der Entwicklung der Sprachvermittlungstheorie sind die Mitarbeiter gleichberechtigt und gleichgewichtig beteiligt).

Aufgabenstellung:
Die Projektgruppe stellt sich in den Dienst des aus der Arbeitsmigration entstandenen gesellschaftlichen Bedürfnisses nach Deutschunterricht für ausländische Arbeiter und setzt sich die konkrete Praxisveränderung in diesem Fach auf der Basis wissenschaftlicher Absicherung zum Ziel.

Das Projekt umfasst drei eng miteinander verbundene und sich wechselseitig beeinflussende Aufgabenbereiche:
- Entwicklung einer Sprachvermittlungstheorie Deutsch für ausländische Arbeiter,
- Entwicklung eines Sprachvermittlungsmodells Deutsch für ausländische Arbeiter,
- Empirische Erhebung, Auswertung und Interpretation von unterrichtsgesteuerten Spracherwerbsprozessen bei ausländischen Arbeitern.

Die Sprachvermittlungstheorie für ausländische Arbeiter ist orientiert an der sozialisatorischen Situation ausländischer Arbeiter im Herkunftsland und im Industrieland. Sie muss die bildungssozialisatorische und lernpsychologische Problematik des Arbeiterunterrichts sowie der Erwachsenenpädagogik und der Zweitsozialisation verarbeiten.

Das Sprachvermittlungsmodell versucht, die Vermittlungstheorie in ein konkretes Unterrichtsprogramm zu übersetzen. Dieses Unterrichtsprogramm wird in einer Gruppe von *türkischen* Arbeitern erprobt und entwickelt. Die Erfahrungen des Versuchsunterrichts gehen umgekehrt in die Weiterentwicklung der Progammtheorie ein.

Die empirische Erhebung von Sprachdaten und deren Auswertung zielt auf Unterrichts-Erfolgskontrolle und Beschreibung von unterrichtsgesteuerten Sprachlernprozessen bei ausländischen Arbeitern. Die Sprachdaten werden durch umfangreiche Tonbandaufnahmen innerhalb und ausserhalb des Versuchsunterrichts gesammelt. Die Beobachtung der sprachlichen Entwicklung von 15 türkischen Kursteilnehmern über einen Zeitraum von etwa neun Monaten soll Aufschluss uber den Einfluss von Unterricht auf das schon erlernte sogenannte Pidgin-Deutsch ausländischer Arbeiter geben.

Als pragmatisches Ziel des Projekts ist die Entwicklung eines Lehrerhandbuchs für den Deutsch-Unterricht für ausländische Arbeiter vorgesehen, das die Prinzipien dieses Unterrichts verbindlich darlegt und anhand modellhafter Unterrichtsvorschläge eine gruppenspezifische Programmentwicklung erleichtert oder ermöglicht.

Theorieansatz / Methoden:
Die Theorieentwicklung erfolgt durch Verarbeitung und Vermittlung von theoretischen Ansätzen der Sozialisationsforschung, der Lerntheorie, der Erwachsenenpädagogik und der Linguistik, verbunden mit dem aus der Unterrichtspraxis hervorgehenden Erfahrungswissen.

Die Unterrichtsentwicklung besteht in einer durch die Reaktionen der Versuchsgruppe, durch Erfahrungswissen und pädagogische Kreativität gelenkten Umsetzung in ein Unterrichtsprogramm.

In der empirischen Erhebung und Auswertung von Sprachdaten wird mit folgenden Methoden gearbeitet: Die 80 Unterrichtseinheiten der ersten und zweiten Unterrichtsversuchsphase wurden auf Tonband aufgenommen und stellen das Sprachdatenkorpus dar. Alle sprachlichen Äusserungen der Kursteilnehmer werden transkribiert. Besonderes Interesse gilt der freien, das heisst der nicht unterrichtsgelenkten, Kommunikation. Im Zuge der Auswertung sollen Teilbereiche von Einzelsprecher-Grammatiken (zum Beispiel Verb-Realisierung und -Stellung) und deren Veränderung beschrieben werden. In Korrelation mit den Sozialdaten werden exemplarische Fallbeschreibungen angefertigt, die den Spracherwerbsprozess mit seinen vielfältigen Determinanten analysieren.

Der methodische Rahmen, der bestimmt ist durch Entwicklung und Einsatz eines Veränderungsfaktors (hier: Unterricht) in ein soziales Feld und durch die Beobachtung von Veränderungsprozessen, ist vielleicht am ehesten der Kategorie *Handlungsforschung* zuzuordnen.

Stand des Projekts (1976).
Das Projekt arbeitet seit dem 1. November 1974.

Die Entwicklung der Sprachvermittlungstheorie und des Sprachvermittlungsmodells sind in wesentlichen Bereichen bereits abgeschlossen; gearbeitet wird noch an einer expliziten Grammatikvermittlungstheorie für den Bereich Deutsch für ausländische Arbeiter und ihre integration in die Sprachvermittlungstheorie Deutsch für ausländische Arbeiter und schliesslich an der letzten Phase des Unterrichtsvermittlungsmodells.

Die zweite Phase des Unterrichtsversuchs wird Ende Januar 1977 beendet. Damit wird auch die Phase der Sprachdatenerhebung im Unterricht abgeschlossen. Zu leisten sind noch Nachuntersuchungen zum Einfluss des Sprachunterrichts auf das Sprachverhalten der Kursteilnehmer ausserhalb der Unterrichtssituation.

Die Entwicklung eines Auswertungs- und Interpretationsmodells für die erhobenen Sprachdaten sowie die Interaktion selbst stehen noch aus. Bis zum jetzigen Zeitpunkt konnte erst ein geringer Teil der Sprachdaten transkribiert werden.

Mit der Ausarbeitung des Lehrerhandbuchs als dem pragmatischen Ziel der Projektarbeit wird nach Abschluss der zweiten Phase des Unterrichtsversuchs und nach Fertigstellung des Sprachvermittlungsmodells begonnen.

Weiterführende Perspektiven:
Das Lehrerhandbuch verspricht praktische Verwendbarkeit der erarbeiteten Sprachvermittlungstheorie für alle Stufen und Organisationsformen des Deutschunterrichts für ausländische Arbeiter. Teile der entwickelten Methodik werden unmittelbar auch für andere Bereiche des Fachs Deutsch als Fremdsprache verwendbar sein.

Das Ergebnis der empirischen Untersuchung wird einen Beitrag liefern zur Sprachlehrforschung und zur Einschätzung des linguistischen und sozialpsychologischen Charakters von Pidgin-Systemen.

Damit wird der Grad der Nützlichkeit und die Funktion von Deutsch für ausländische Arbeiter einschätzbar; Empfehlungen zur organisatorischen Gestaltung von Deutschunterricht für ausländische Arbeiter werden ermöglicht.

Publications and Manuscripts by the members of the research team:

1975 Ziele und gegenwärtiger Stand der Arbeit des Projektes „Deutsch für ausländische Arbeiter". *Zielsprache Deutsch,* Heft 1/1975

1976a Sprachhandlungstheorie und „Deutsch für ausländische Arbeiter". *Linguistische Berichte* 45, S. 42-54

1976b Projekt „Deutsch für ausländische Arbeiter" - Darstellung der Grammatikvermittlung in einem Versuchskurs. *Deutsch lernen,* Heft 3/1976

1976c Zur Situation des Faches „Deutsch als Fremdsprache" am Beispiel des Verhältnisses von Universitäten zu „Deutsch für ausländische Arbeiter". *Materialen Deutsch als Fremdsprache.* Heft 7/1976

1977a Grammatikvermittlung im Deutschunterricht für türkische Arbeiter. *Deutsch lernen,* Heft 1/1977

1977b „Wir sagen das tarzanca..." . Zum Sprachbewusstsein türkischer Arbeitsmigranten. *Deutsch lernen,* Heft 2/1977.

1977c „Feridun" - Neue Wege zum Deutschunterricht mit türkischen Arbeitern. *Deutsch lernen,* Heft 3/1977

1977d „Deutsch für ausländische Arbeiter". In: Bielefeld, Hess-Lüttich and Lund, eds.: *Soziolinguistik und Empirie. Beiträge zur Corpusgewinnung und Auswertung.* Wiesbaden: Athenaion 1977.

1977e Kritik des lehrwerkes „Deutsch für Jugendliche anderer Muttersprache" von Eckes/Wilms anhand unseres Kriterienkataloges. *Unpublished MS.*

1977f Kritik des Lehrwerkes „Deutsch als Fremdsprache" von Braun, Nieder und Schmöll anhand unseres Kriterienkataloges, *unpublished MS.*

1977g SO 36 oder Kreuzberg-Harlem? Strategien zur Einbeziehung der ausländischen Bewohner in die Entwicklung des Quartiers. *Unpublished MS.*

1978a Kriterien zur Beurteilung von Deutschlehrwerken für ausländische Arbeiter als Entscheidungshilfe für die Unterrichtspraxis.
to appear in: Jahrbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache, Heidelberg 1978.

1978b Zur Analyse und Interpretation von unterrichtsbedingten Sprachveränderungsprozessen bei ausländischen Arbeitern. *to appear in:* Jahrbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache, Heidelberg 1978.

LEARNING THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

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	Yayla Mönch-Bucak	(Teacher, German, Turkish, Mathematics)
	Ilse Nikolai	(Teacher, German, Mathematics)
	N.N.	(Psycho-Linguist)

Time: 1.8.1978 - 31.7.1981

Sponsor: Volkswagen-Stiftung

Contents of the project:
The acqusition of mathematical knowledge at the level of general secondary education through the medium of German is to be studied.

The target groups are:

I.) homogeneous groups of Turkish adolescents in special courses acquiring the general secondary school-leaving certificate (Hauptschul-Diploma)

II.) international groups of foreign adolescents in the same course type

III.) homogeneous and heterogeneous groups at secondary level within the school system

The mathematical teaching method adopted aims at relating formal mathematical contents to everyday knowledge and everyday needs. (For example: understanding fractions through reading and cooking according to recipes).

The materials and the language used in the classroom are to be adapted to the various levels of linguistic proficiency. The content side of teaching will not be watered down no matter how low the linguistic proficiency level of the pupils is.

The project will investigate:

1.) whether the language teaching can be integrated into subject teaching at certain phases or

2.) whether it is more feasible to organize separate language instruction prior or parallel to subject teaching

We hope to get some insights into the relationship between development of foreign language learning and the acquisition of knowledge and we hope to collect evidence to support arguments for medium-teaching instead of traditional foreign language teaching for this special target group.

DER SERBOKROATISCH-DEUTSCHE BILINGUISMUS JUGOSLAWISCHER SCHÜLER

Sponsor: Ministerium für Wissenschaft und Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen

Members: Dragica Delić, Marija Orlović, Karin Rausch, Edeltraud Sausner, Wilfried Stölting (project leader)

Time schedule: April 1973 - September 1975 preparation, data collecting and analysis
January 1976 – December 1977 final report

Institutional affiliation: Universität Essen/Gesamthochschule, Fachbereich 3, Germanistische Linguistik

The main interest of this research project derives from the language shift topic of sociolinguistics: Which are the societal, environmental and educational conditions favouring the gradual shift from the mother-tongue to German in second-generation schoolchildren and are there any factors to strengthen the position of the mother-tongue in view of bilingual/bicultural communities of foreigners in West Germany? This approach requires us to take into account both the German and the Serbo-Croatian language, attitudes of speakers towards these languages, conditions of language acquisition, amount of usage and degree of proficiency of either language.

The general conditions of language usage and language acquisition were determined by analysing written materials, visiting schools and taking part in family gatherings. Extensive interviews with families and subjects (50) and questionnaires served to determine the usage of German and Serbo-Croatian in various domains of speaking. The degree of bilingual proficiency was measured by a global count of the speakers' errors and mistakes/language areas that can be compared in German and Serbo-Croatian (noun area, verb area, word order area etc.). Bilingual usage and bilingual proficiency were compared on the basis of a bilingual relation's quotient. Age of subjects (9-16), age at starting German, length of stay in West Germany and type of schooling were taken into account.

The findings show that in Yugoslav children undergoing schooling in Germany the tendency to shift to German is very strong. Children approaching equilinguism are more likely to be found in the higher age group that commenced school in Yugoslavia than in the lower age group entering the 1st form in Germany. The complex language situation in Yugoslavia weakens the status of the children's mother-tongue in the German environment.

On the basis of these results further research is undertaken at the University of Oldenburg to promote bilingualism in foreign workers' children. Within the framework of training teachers of German as a Foreign language, we test methods of coordinating the acquisition of German and Turkish. A six-week experimental teaching is just taking place. In the next academic year we will concentrate on the coordinated acquisition of the German and the Turkish writing system and make an attempt of building up grammatical notions in primary school children.

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Heidelberg Research Project "Pidgin German of Spanish and Italian Workers in the Federal Republic of Germany"

The project "Pidgin German" started its work which is sponsored by Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft in 1974. It was initiated by Prof. Wolfgang Klein - also the leader of the project - and at present consists of 8 research members: Angelika Becker, Norbert Dittmar, Margit Gutmann, Bert-Olaf Rieck, Gunter Senft, Ingeborg Senft, Wolfram Steckner, and Elisabeth Thielicke. The group is working at Germanistisches Seminar der Universität Heidelberg, Karlstr.2, D-6900 Heidelberg 1.

The main aim of the research work is to analyze the undirected ("natural") acquisition of German by Spanish and Italian migrant workers: The stages reached in the untutored language acquisition process represent different levels of approximation to the target variety. On the one hand, these "pidginized" varieties of German - a term which is used in regard of certain grammatical characteristics and the restrictions of the learning situation - can be made productive as basis for the directed acquisition of German; on the other hand, fossilization of interlanguage rules (deviating from the standard variety) - often firmly established in the learners' speech behavior - heavily blocks the directed acquisition of German and has to be reduced.

In order to study these varities and the circumstances of their development the following techniques of data collection were used. To get information on the contact situation between migrant workers and Germans participant observation was done in two factories, a pub, and an Alien department (cf. HPD 1975, Ch. 4&5). 48 interviews with migrants and 12 with German workers (speakers of the local vernacular, the "target variety") were carried out. The sample of foreign workers was stratified as follows: 24 Italians, 24 Spaniards; 16 women and 32 men. Their duration of stay differed between one and 15 years. The interviews took the form of casual but gently directed conversations. Special techniques were used to avoid communicative disturbances and deviations from usual communicative behavior. From each of the recorded interviews 15 minutes were transcribed in a broad phonetic notation.

For the syntatic description a reference grammar (a context free phrase structure grammar) including all rules applying at least once among the corpus was used to parse 100 sentences from each informant's interview, and to compile relative frequencies of rule applications. This procedure basing on the concept of variety grammar (cf Klein 1974) results in a matrix containing the "syntactic profile" of each informant's approximative system of German. The learners' syntactic profiles were compared with those of the German informants, and were correlated with sociological data also gathered during the interviews (cf HPD 1976, 1977).

Furthermore, investigations concerning the acquisition of word order and lexicon were recently carried out. The study of the lexicon includes the learning of prepositions and verbs.

Two years after the first interwiew the Spanish informants still living in the Heidelberg area were interviewed a second time. This new series of interviews serves a double purpose: (1) to get a better insight into the mechanism of the second language acquisition process as well as the problem of fossilization; (2) to study more profoundly the learning of certain semantic concepts, especially time and modality. To control the semantic input special techniques - namely elicited translation and elicited imitation - were used. At present that material is being analyzed.

The integration of our results into a language programme for migrant workers has been planned for the future. That will presumably be done in cooperation with the joint EEC - Italian "progetto emigrazione", a project dealing with language and vocational training for Italian workers in Germany.

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THE BILINGUALISM OF THE CHILDREN OF ITALIAN WORKERS IN WESTERN GERMANY: the development of their mother tongue in contact with German.

Thematic aspects

The following aspects are relevant to the treatment of the research topic:

- The properties of competence and of the use of the mother tongue among the children of Italian workers in Western Germany.
- The distribution of the two languages in contact among the various types of interaction.
- The effects of the socio-cultural factors in the social situation of the children and of the kind of language contact upon their language behavior; in particular, the effects upon the development (acquisition, command, maintenance or shift) of competence and of the use of the mother tongue.

Research members:

- Pilot study of the preparatory phase: Aldo di Luzio (project leader)
  Brigitte Behrens (research assistant)
- Main phase of the investigation: Aldo di Luzio (project leader)
  Brigitte Behrens and N.N. (research assistants)
  4 students (2 native speakers of Italian and 2 native speakers of German) as research assistants.

Sponsor:

- The University of Konstanz serves as sponsor for the preparatory phase of the project.
- The project has applied to the Volkswagen-Foundation for financial support of the main phase of the investigation.

Time schedule: Pilot study: since January 1977
main phase: from June 1978 up to May 1981
(if the project gains support from the Volkswagen-Foundation)

- The research is carried out at the University of Konstanz - Department of Linguistics.

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1. Introduction and justification of the project

The number of children of foreign workers in Western Germany who are of school age is at present well over half a million. Interaction in two languages is required of these children: their mother tongue in the family and German in most official spheres. In the social situation of the children of foreign workers the two languages develop under less favourable conditions than those enjoyed by German children or children in the country of origin of the same age. The type of social situation and of the contact of the two languages in interaction determines the specific development and structuring of the behaviour of the children in the two languages. They thus reveal certain properties which deviate from the standard norm and which present certain speech varieties.

The specific development and structure manifests itself in the relationship of the two speech varieties to each other and in their relationship to various social situations. However, the practical result of this bilingualism is that in many cases the children have a restricted command of both languages, i.e. they do not learn either of the languages properly. This fact is widely known, although there have been few relevant, detailed studies, in particular in regard to the command of the mother tongue among the children of foreign workers.

If the children of foreign workers remain in Germany, they require a good command of both languages for life within the family and outside If they return with their families to their countries of origin - and this is the case at the moment with the majority - they must have a good command of their mother tongue. Inadequate command of language is the reason why they do not complete their education or training satisfactorily: among Italian children, for example, about 70% fail to get the leaving certificate of the secondary modern school. In the present economic situation, language problems also make it difficult to acquire adequate professional qualifications, with the result that the children of foreign workers are predestined to form a subproletariate both in Western Germany and in their home countries. Finally, command of the mother tongue is an essential precondition for reintegration in the country of origin; and because of the mobility of labour between South and North Europe, a command of German is necessary for continued residence in or subsequent return to Germany. This means that the needs and demands of communication under modern European working conditions require in every case (return to the home country, continued residence in Germany, return to Germany) a virtually optimal bilingualism. This state of affairs is being studied intensivel at the moment by politicians in Western Germany and in the countries of origin.

Research which, like ours, deals with the bilingualism of the children of foreign workers is a precondition for the planning of measures for a realistic bilingual education.

2. Choice of the field of study

The interest of socio-linguistic research in Germany has hitherto been directed more towards the acquisition of German by the children of foreign workers. Our project intends to deal, above all, with the

aspect of the command of the mother tongue. The emphasis lies on the development of the mother tongue among children, i.e on the study of the effects of their social situation and of the second language, German, on the development and command of the mother tongue.

Italian children were chosen for the following reasons:

1) With regard to Italians, a higher degree of mobility within the Common Market can be expected; this in turn requires a greater degree of bilingualism

2) The competence of Italian children in their mother tongue has not yet been studied.

3) The leader of the project and his colleagues already have contact with Italian families and institutions, and they also have the necessary competence in the language.

4) By keeping to one language it is possible to take a representative sample for this nationality. This enables us to make more precise statements and to treat the problem in greater depth.

3. Statement of the problem

The language situation of the children of Italian workers in Western Germany reveals aspects which are of great interest in regard to the formation of linguistic theories, and which are also of the greatest social relevance.

Socialization outside the family takes place almost exclusively in the contact language German, whereas varieties of Italian are predominant in the home. The development of the mother tongue does not appear to be effected decisively by the two to four hours of teaching in the mother tongue which is organized and offered with the help of the Italian Consulates in Baden-Württemberg and in other states. Furthermore, only a minority of the children attend these classes.

Thus the language of the family and the contact situation with German are the central sources of influence upon the development of competence in the mother tongue. However, the language of the family is not usually standard Italian, but a dialect or regional variety.

As a minority group, the Italian workers' families in any one place (e.g. Konstanz) form a linguistically and socio-culturally heterogeneous speech community on account of the differences in geographical origin, degree of assimilation, motives for migration, intention to return to Italy and attitudes to Western Germany and to Italy. It seems that the heterogeneity of language in the speech community is stronger among the children and among the second and third generations of foreign workers.

Our observations to date indicate that biographical and social factors of the children and their families play a central part in determining the scope and the character of competence in the mother

tongue. Some of these factors are, for example, the age at which the children begin acquiring the second language, the length of the stay in Germany, the links with Italy, the nature of school attendance, the attitudes of the children and their families towards language, the motivation to acquire a command of and to use the mother tongue in their present and in future situations, and the structure of the language interaction upon Italian in everyday life. Apart from the greater lack of homogeneity, it can be expected that the command of Italian among these children will reveal more characteristics of deviation and reduction in regard to standard Italian and to the Italian of monolingual children of the same age and social status who are also in the situation of emigrants (South-North migration) in Italy.

The Italian of the foreign workers' children seems to reveal the properties of an instable interim language, which is in a dynamic state of change. The nature and the direction of the change appear to be determined largely by social and biographical factors.

In our research project we are endeavouring to arrive at a precise knowledge of the language situation of the Italian children and to make, for the first time, an inventory of important aspects of their language behaviour, which will provide empirically well-founded criteria for the urgently needed and planned revision of the didactics for teaching the mother tongue.

4. The questions to be asked and the aims of the study

In view of the complex language situation of the children of Italian workers, the following questions are important, from a linguistic point of view, for our research project:

1) What is the distribution of the use of Italian and German in relation to the network of situations of interaction and communication in daily life? What regularities in the alternation between the languages can be established, which is dependent upon the situational context and the function of the use of a particular language for the process of interaction?

2) What are the properties of the Italian interim language of the children of Italian workers? What properties are typical in comparison to the language of monolingual children, to standard Italian and to the varieties spoken by the parents?

3) What is the connection between the degree of command of German and that of Italian?

4) What is the relationship between typical properties of the interim language and the range and nature of the speech situations in which Italian is spoken?

5) What relationship exists between certain properties of this language and the social and biographical factors of the social situation of the children and their families?

6) Can some of the properties of this language be traced back to interference caused by contact with German?

7) What are the typical stages in the process of development of the mother tongue of the children of foreign workers and what is their relationship with other factors?

8) What are the consequences arising from the answers to questions 1 to 7 for the planning and development of a didactics for teaching the mother tongue, which appropriate to the social and language situation of the children of foreign workers?

The aims of our research project can, then, be sketched as follows:

1. Description of the alternation between the two languages according to the factors of context and the functions of the use of the language

2. Description of the Italian interim language of the Italian worker's children
   Hypotheses will be made about regularities which permit a plausible and meaningful interpretation of the structure of alternation between the first and the second language

The description will be presented within the theoretical and methodical framework of implicational analysis, which permits an exact description of the lack of homogeneity and of the dynamic nature of this language.

This description is to be undertaken for the most important properties of this language. According to our observations to date, some of these properties are, for example:

a) at the morphological level:

   Gender and case inflection. It is to be established what forms are used to indicate the functions of gender and case of articles and nouns.

b) at the syntactic-semantic level:

   Prepositions. The use of prepositions is to be described in certain stages of language learning
   - The article and personal pronouns, third person.
   The conditions are to be examined which determine the omission of articles and the redundant or non-clitic use of personal pronouns

c) at a lexical level:

   The reduction of lexicon entries and the extension of meaning are to be established and examined for a semantically significant quantity of lexemes

3. <u>Contrastive description of the interim language in relation to the language of monolingual children and ot the standard norm of Italian</u>

   The purpose of this comparison is to ascertain the typical properties of the interim language

4. <u>Interpretation of the interim language</u>

In regard to the results of the description of some of the typical properties of the interim language the following points are to be clarified:

- What is the influence of the parents' language?
- What influence does German as a second language have upon the formation and structure of the Italian interim language? Neither the German varieties of the children nor the Italian varieties of the parents are subjects of the description. They are included in order to work out specific hypotheses, which may refer the characteristics of the interim language back to the varieties spoken by the parents and the children.
- What effect does the range of use of Italian have upon the structure of the interim language?
- Which social and biographical factors correlate significantly with the properties of the interim language?

The aim of the interpretation is to arrive at empirically sound statements about typical stages in the acquisition of competence (maintenance/shift of language) in the mother tongue by the children. These statements should make it possible to distinguish between the types of bilingualism (such as symmetric-asymmetric, dominant-weak etc.) specific to the groups and to relate them to social and biographcial factors and to the structure of interaction in daily life.

5. The establishment of criteria for the promotion of competence in the mother tongue

The description and interpretation of the structure and use of the interim language should lead to the discovery of criteria for the promotion of competence in the mother tongue which are appropriate to the overall situation of the Italian children (measures for teaching the mother tongue in and outside school, etc.) The knowledge gained should also form a material basis for the development of curricula and it should be possible to make use of it in the further education of teachers.

6. Research procedure

The research requires two kinds of language data: primarily data on the mother tongue collected in different speech situations and, secondary, data which will help to establish the level of command of the second language.

The second set of data are social and biographical data on the children and their parents and on their attitudes.

The informants have been chosen from the Italian speech community in Konstanz, who number about 2000 persons. The sample of the children of Italian workers will include only children and young people of school age. This decision was determined partly by technical and organizational factors such as the simplification of the collection of data, time-saving etc. On the other hand, it ensures that we can assume comparable situations in the use of language for all informants.

The choice of informants was determined by the following criteria:

- Italian nationality of children and parents
- Age (6-16 years)

- Time at which the acquisition of the second language began
- Situation in the family (number of brothers and sisters, relatives in Konstanz, occupation of the parents)
- Social class
- Attendance at a German and/or Italian school
- Contact with relatives in Italy
- Area of residence in Konstanz
- Length of stay in Western Germany

The sample will be divided up into more specific sub-groups in accordance with the above criteria.
All in all, approximately 60 children and young persons will be interviewed.

In addition to these main informants, the parents of the children and a monolingual control group of approximately 30 children will also be interviewed.

The field workers (observes and interviewers) will have different qualifications depending on the nature of the investigation. In each case, at least one will be an Italian native speaker and a further field worker will have at least a passive knowledge of the language. For the interviews in German German native speakers will guide the conversation.

The collection of data will be carried out in a methodically pluralist way. It will take into account the findings of the empirical research on the "Ethnography of Speaking" (Gumperz, Fishman, etc.) and will follow the guide-lines laid down by Labov.

For the collection of data the following procedure is planned:

1. With regard to the children of Italian workers data will be collected in the following way:

a) Participatory and systematic observation of the children in play groups and learning groups (s. 6 preliminary studies)
The organization of the groups makes it possible to record their behaviour in regard to language and comunication, in particular the regularities in the alternation between the languages, in uncontrolled speech situations and with reference to the same interlocutor.

b) Collection of data on the speech behaviour of the children in play groups and learning groups. These data are to be won in situations which are influenced as little as possible and they represent the informal styles (Labov) dependent on factors of the speech situation (playing partner, topic, etc.)

c) Individual interviews
They serve the purpose of recording the spoken German and Italian varieties in clearly structured speech situations, attitudes, and information on the social situation of the children (school, peer groups, family)

d) Language tests
These refer above all to the phenomena of the interim language mentioned above. (s. 4. The questions to be asked and the aims of the study)

e) In the context of the work with the children we have sifted a considerable amount of play material (games etc.), and tested it in group work in order to find procedures, which the children are acquainted with, do not present excessive cognitive demands and provide opportunities for speech which are embedded in a context.

On the basis of the experience gathered so far, the tests will be partly integrated in the play processes and partly carried out after the individual interviews and during school classes. The necessary contact with Italian teachers has already been made.

In the tests the degree of command of Italian is to be established with the help of certain linguistic indicators. The formal spectrum of styles in relation to the various codes (understanding, speaking, reading, writing) will also be recorded.

f) Language diaries, self-evaluation and projective procedures will also help to record the use of language and attitude to language in specific areas.

g) Written data

Texts produced in school work will be collected and evaluated with regard to problems of detail.

2. For the collection of data for the monolingual control group interviews (c) and tests (d) are planned.

3. Interviews will be held with the parents of the children
They serve the purpose of

a) establishing the spoken Italian varieties

b) gaining the necessary social and biographical data on the family situation

c) recording the range of attitudes on the theme "land of origin" "land of residence" and the assessment of the language problem.

d) acquiring information on the use of language in the family.

4. The assessments of German and Italian teachers will provide information on the situation in school and on the language and communicative behaviour of the children in this situation.

The collection of data from the children of Italian parents, teachers and the monolingual control group forms the main complex of the enquiry.

The following enquiries are to be made for control purposes:

a) a written questionnaire for Italian families in Konstanz
To ensure that the sample is representative, a short standardized questionnaire is to be sent to 150 Italian families in Konstanz which contains questions on the following themes:

- social situation of the family
- length of stay in Western Germany
- intention to return to Italy
- school situation of the children
- attitudes towards Western Germany and Italy
- distribution of alternation between German and Italian in typical speech situations

This set of themes will also be broached in the informal interviews with the parents of our main informants.

b) Enquiries among Italian parents and children in Südbaden.

Thes data will be collected by Italian teachers in Südbaden who have expressed willingness to support the project. About 100 parents will be questioned by means of interview or questionnaire.
For the collection of data from approximately 200 children we have chosen to use instruments which can be used during classroom teaching

- Language tests (s. 1.d.)
- Language diaries and projective procedures (s. 1.e)
- Written data (homework) (s. 1.f.)
- This set of data serves the purpose of controlling the data collected in Konstanz by controlling the geographical parameter. The inclusion of Italian teachers also provides an ideal opportunity for comparing the results of our research with the experience of the teachers and for a practical discussion of didactic consequences. At the same time the teachers will also be confronted with linguistic methods which they can use in their teaching.

The evaluation will be made on the basis of the transcription of the individual interviews and the tests and of a partial transcription of the recordings of conversations in accordance with previously established criteria.

The amount of data aimed at will be about three hours of recording per child. For analysis and evaluation one and a half hours of recording will be drawn upon. In regard to problems of detail the written data will also be evaluated.

The corpus of data will be built up according to morphological, syntactical and semantic analytical criteria. The levels of comparison for Italian are the language varieties of the parents, the language variety of monolingual children and the standard variety of Italian. The German variety of the children will be compared with the varieties of the local German population and used as a basis for the analysis of possible interferences with structures of the Italian variety.

The use of statistical data to correlate language and social data on the one hand, and properties of this language and the range

of language use in specific areas on the other, will follow upon the selective description of the Italian interim language.

The statistical evaluation of the data in the questionnaire can be carried out with the help of the electronic data processing plant in the computing centre of the University of Konstanz.

6. The present state of preparatory work

1) Technical and organizational aspects.
Contact with local organizations that sponsor Italian workers and their families have been established. The cooperative working relationship with Italian teachers in Konstanz as well as throughout the Südbaden Region has proved to hold. Regular contact with approx. 35 children and Italian parents was able to be maintained. The informants were taken among the Italians living in Konstanz since 1966 in order to secure the representativeness of our sample.

2) Sponsoring of italian children.
Ever since February 1977, play workshops in language animation for Italian children of different age levels were established and together with students its work was carried out. The preparation as well as evaluating discussion take place every week among the program executors. The working groups aim at the promotion of the linguistic-communicative ability (in Italian as well as in German) of the children. At the same time, the possibility is created for the program executors in order for them to observe the communicative behavior of the children in the most possible informal situations and to have a record of this group behavior.

3) Development of data-collecting instruments.
Interviews and questionnaires for children and parents were worked out for the above mentioned pilot study. Preliminary work for the testing and observation sheets, inquiry sheets for teachers as well as questionnaires concerning language diaries, self-evaluations and projective proceedings were produced. The present working situation provides a solid foundation for the definitive setting up of the data-collecting instruments.

4) Contact with other projects.
Contact with other projects in W. Germany which have specialized in the field of language use among emigrant workers and their children has either been already established or is in the process of being established.

DER ERWERB DES DEUTSCHEN DURCH ARBEITER AUS ITALIEN, SPANIEN UND PORTUGAL.

Research group: Forschungsgruppe „Zweitspracherwerb italienischer und spanischer Arbeiter" (ZISA)

Members: Wolf-Michael Ahnen, Harald Clahsen, Gudrun Jaehnike, Ulrike Keunecke, Jürgen M. Meisel (Project leader), Manfred Pienemann, Ulrike Rohde.

Sponsor: Ministerium für Wissenschaft und Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen.

Time schedule: Current project: April 1st 1977 - March 31st 1978 (will be prolonged until July 31st).

Institutional affiliation: Gesamthochschule Wuppertal, Fachbereich Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaften, Romanistik-Linguistik.

The longitudinal study will officially begin April 1st 1978.

Title: Der Verlauf des ungesteuerten Zweitspracherwerbs bei Arbeitern aus Italien und Spanien.

Time schedule: April 1st 1978 - March 31st 1981.

A Short Description of the Activities of the Research Group „ZISA" (Zweitspracherwerb italienischer u. spanischer Arbeiter)

It is well known that the main problem of the foreign workers in Germany is their isolation from, and social neglect by, native Germans - a problem partly caused by the formers' inferior legal and economic status. The most immediately apparent aspect of this problem is the enormous difficulty in communication. Although there are German language courses available for foreign workers, these courses have not had much effect in eliminating this difficulty. One of the reasons for the ineffectiveness of these language courses is the still existing lack of information about how the German of the foreign workers is acquired and structured.
Therefore the global aim of our research project is to describe the unguided second language acquisition of adult foreign workers and to show in what way it is dependent on social factors. As many researchers have stated, the most efficient investigational technique for this purpose is a longitudinal study. 3 years ago we started to prepare such a study. We developed a questionnaire in order to gather all important psycho-social background information. It also included a number of tests for the elicitation of certain linguistic structures. On the basis of data we collected in a pilot study we have also started to develop techniques for a linguistic analysis.
The first analyses have shown that there is probably a very strong correlation between specific processes of second language acquisition and social factors: Those informants who do not want to integrate themselves into German society, tend to acquire a much more simplified and reduced variety of German than those who do want integration. This interdependence, which has also been found by Gardner and Lambert (1972) and by Schumann (1974), cannot be investigated by a longitudinal study alone, although such a study is urgently needed for an explicit and reliable description of second language acquisition. We therefore decided to supplement the longitudinal study with a profile study.

The profile study was started at the beginning of 1977. We are recording about 50 interviews with workers from Italy, Spain and Portugal. In these interviews we try to have „natural conversations" and - at the same time - to gather information about the social background of the informants. By January 78 we had recorded 35 interviews. We are describing the syntax of each informant's interlanguage transformationally and intend to group the informants according to linguistic features, so that we can look for correlations between groups of informants and their psycho-social factors.
The profile study will be finished in spring 1978, so that we can focus on the longitudinal study which is planned for the next tree years (two of which will be devoted to the actual observation og the informants). The research projects were granted financial support by the Ministerium für Wissenschaft und Forschung of Nordrhein-Westfalen.

Some publications by members of ZISA:

1. Harald Clahsen (1977), „Syntax oder Produktionsstrategien? Zum natürlichen Zweitspracherwerb der »Gastarbeiter«", Vortrag beim Romanistentag 1977, erscheint im Sommer 1978 im Verlag Fink, München.

2. Harald Clahsen, Ulrike Rohde (1976), „Untersuchungen zur Sprache ausländischer Arbeiter in der BRD", *Studium Linguistik* 1, 89-94.

3. J.M. Meisel (1975), „Ausländerdeutsch und Deutsch ausländischer Arbeiter. Zur möglichen Entstehung eines Pidgin in der BRD", *ZS für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik* 10, 9-53.

4. J.M. Meisel (1977), „The Language of Foreign Workers in Germany", in C.H. Molony, H. Zobl, W. Stölting (Hrsg.), *German in Contact with Other Languages*, Kronberg/Ts.: Scriptor, 184-212.

5. J.M. Meisel (1977), „Linguistic Simplification: A Study of Immigrant Workers' Speech and Foreigner Talk", S. Pit Corder, Eddy Roulet (eds.), *The Notion of Simplification, Interlanguages and Pidgins and their Relation to Second Language Pedagogy*, Genève: Droz, 99-113.

6. J.M. Meisel (1977), „Emigración, si - Einwanderung nein!" *Iberoamericana* 1, 36-57.

7. J.M. Meisel, M. Pienemann, M. Thiel (1976), „The Acquisition of German by Foreign Workers", *Sociolinguistic Newsletter* VII, 9-10.

8. M. Pienemann (1975), *Deutsch für Ausländerkinder - Überlegungen zur Grundlage einer Sprachförderungskonzeption für ausländische Arbeiterkinder in der BRD. Staatsexamensarbeit, MS, Gesamthochschule Wuppertal.*

9. M. Pienemann (1977), „Zur bilingualen Schule für ausländische Arbeiterkinder", *Studium Linguistik* 4, 87-91.

10. M. Pienemann (1977), „Erwerbssequenzen und Lehrprogression, Überlegungen zur Steuerung des Zweitspracherwerbs", Vortrag beim Romanistentag 1977, erscheint im Sommer 1978 im Fink Verlag, München.

11. J.M. Meisel (1975), „Der Erwerb des Deutschen durch ausländische Arbeiter. Untersuchungen am Beispiel aus Italien, Spanien und Portugal", *Linguistische Berichte* 38, 59-69.

FAILURES OF A LANGUAGE-LEARNING SYSTEM BASED ON THE IDEOLOGY AND MODELS OF LEARNING OF THE COUNTRY OF PRODUCTION

Under the sponsorship of UNESCO, research was carried out simultaneously in France, Switzerland, Germany and Norway during 1977 on the SOCIO-CULTURAL EFFECTS OF PROGRAMS OF FORMATION ON MIGRANT WORKERS AND THEIR FAMILIES.

The Norwegian team based its final report on the following:

1. *Base:* background historical information, including domination of the native Lapp population, labour market politics, etc.
2. *Language:* a preliminary study of Pakistani speakers of Norwegian, analysed on the basis of four Codes:
   - *Code 1:* The mother tongue (Lahnda) + Urdu, national language.
   - *Code 2:* Norwegian learned outside institutions (undirected).
   - *Code 3:* » » inside » (directed).
   - *Code 4:* Norwegian (which Norwegian?) as target language.
3. *Consequences:* dominating-dominated socio-economic structure.

The data used was collected as follows:

Code 2: (undirected learning): 33 talks with mainly Pakistani workers, informal, but designed on a pattern worked out by the team. These were all conducted by migrants trained in the techniques to be used, at: (1) the Labour Office for foreigners, (2) cafés frequented by migrant workers, (3) homes. The talks were constructed around the place of work and related problems.

Code 3: (directed learning): 2 team members (alternating 1 Norwegian, 1 migrant) were present as participant observers throughout the entire 3-month period of Level I courses in the three main institutions for adult Norwegian-language teaching: Adult Education - Friundervisning; Confederation of Trade Unions, Educ. Branch -AOF; Conservative Party, Adult Educ. Branch -AS, the only institution conducting courses for adult Pakistanis employing the 2-teacher system (1 Norwegian, 1 Pakistani).

A fourth advanced level course, Level V, was also observed employing the same participant observer technique, by a migrant team member.

In addition, ethnolinguistic sessions were held over a limited period of three weeks with the AS group.

The material was transcribed by two team members, the second checking for errors on the first.

The Department of Church and Education has granted sizable funds for the year 1978 for continued research in this area to include, this year, the adult Turkish population. Experimental courses in the teaching of Norwegian to adult Turks with little school background are being designed with the aim of drastically changing the model. Working on the hypothesis that models of language teaching for migrants, to be effective, cannot be divorced from labour market politics in particular and power control social hierarchization in general in the country of production, the experimental courses will divert both planning and practice away from models designed by the country of production into models designed by Turkish nationals and the participants themselves.

The team is now working on contrastive grammar and relevant ethnolinguistic aspects in preparation for the first experimental course. In addition to the team linquist, Even Hovdhaugen, himself an expert on the Turkish language, four Turks have been added to the original UNESCO team.

The final analysis will be made in the form of a continuation/extension of some aspects of interlanguages based on the 4 Codes as defined in the UNESCO report and on further considerations of ethnolinguistic factors.

The Team is interdisciplinary and mixed Norwegian/non-Norwegian:
Saeed Anjum, Pakistani, bilingual teacher; Ali Abbas Asim, Pakistani, psychologist; Even Hovdhaugen, Norwegian, linguist; Aud Korbøl, Norwegian, sociologist; Sunil Loona, Indian, psychologist; Berit Løfsnæs, Norwegian, social worker; Manuel Machado, Portuguese, ethnopsychologist; Carolyn Swetland, Amer-Nor., social anthropologist; Ayako Tsuda, Japanese, sociologist. Dropped from the team in 1978 due to change of target population from Pakistani to Turkish: Ali Abbas Asim, Pakistani and Sunil Loona, Indian, both psychologists. Added: Ismail Buyukakan, Turk, bilingual teacher; Hasan Yıldırım, Turk, one of the interviewers used in 1977; Satılmıs Yayla, Turk, director of Turkish Freetime Clubs in Oslo; Ayşe Atag, Turk, for transcription and ethnolinguistic work.

Carolyn Swetland, „The Ghetto of the Soul: the Socio-cultural Effects of Programs of Formation on Migrant Workers and Their Families in Norway", UNESCO, 1977.

Carolyn Swetland, project leader

EXPRESSIONS OG LANGUAGE FUNCTIONS IN NORWEGIAN, SELECTED AND TREATED FOR TEACHING PURPOSE.

Inger Helene Arnestad, Dep. for teaching Norwegian to foreign students, University of Oslo.

The aim of the project is to describe and utilize for teaching purposes types of functional speech. How do people express themselves to execute a specific language function (f.ex. what do they actually say to deny something, to convince someone, to make their interlocutor feel comfortable in the conversation?

Preliminary studies:

1. Consultations with immigrants, teachers, researchers and others on the relative importance of specific language functions, as defined by the imigrants' needs.

2. Preliminary collection of a small number of samples.

3. Design of working methods.

Project:

1. Collection of samples of authentic language use, by recording conversations and other face-to-face interactions, partly directed, partly free.

2. Description of these expressions. Type and extent of description will be chosen in accordance with 3), which is the main aim of the investigation.

3. Treating of chosen examples (see prelim. 1) for the purpose of teaching Norwegian as a foreign language, to create material for *oral production* and *auditive comprehension.*

TEACHING FOREIGN LANGUAGE PRONUNCIATION - pro tem: DANISH INTONATION

Nina Thorsen and Oluf Thorsen

Institute of Phonetics, University of Copenhagen

Initiated in 1976

The investigation of Danish intonation, presently in progress, is the first step within a larger frame-work, the ultimate goal of which is to develop efficient methods for pronunciation teaching, with special regard to the teaching of Danish to foreigners.
Regardless of target language, teaching foreign language pronunciation entails consideration of the following problems (among others): 1) what to teach and in which order 2) what degree of intelligibility and acceptability should the student reach? 3) teaching methods and materials 4) to what extent can the instrumentation of experimental phonetics serve as feedback control devices on the students' pronunciation? 5) how to evaluate objectively any progress made in the course of teaching.
So far, we are stuck on the first problem mentioned above: what to teach and in which order. Behind this lies a demand on the teacher to structuralize his teaching and give top priority to such phenomena which contribute considerably to effortless and succesful communication and which, therefore, when handled incorrectly by the speaker, give rise to serious misunderstandings, or no understanding at all, on the part of the native listener.
The experimental phonetic research which for a given language, in casu Danish, would lead to a rank ordering of prosodic and segmental features in the language have not been performed, at least not for a whole complex of features such as vowel quality, stress, intonation, duration, aspiration, voicing etc., etc. However, on the basis of our own experience with Danish speaking foreigners we are fairly certain that prosody, i.e. rhythm (stress and duration) and intonation, is of paramount importance in the pronunciation of Danish, - and this will probably be true of many other languages as well. Comprehensive descriptions of Danish intonation are lacking and thus we decided to start just there and commence an acoustic analysis of the relationship between stress and fundamental frequency[1] and of sentence intonation in short utterances in Advanced Standard Copenhagen Danish. Such an analysis will, by the way, be useful also for the teaching of foreign languages to Danes.
The investigation is a preliminary one, inasmuch as it is limited to Copenhagen Danish and only treats rather short utterances, and it is, of course our intention to expand the material and include other varieties of Danish as well. The results may be summarized briefly as follows (cf. also fig. 1):
There is a close and simple relationship between stress and fundamental frequency: a stressed syllable and all succeeding unstressed syllables within the same simple sentence constitute a tonal unit with a relatively low stressed syllable followed by a tail of higher and falling unstressed syllables.
The difference between declarative, non-final, and interrogative sentences is first and foremost a difference between the course of fundamental frequency through the stressed syllables: in declarative sentences the stressed syllables form a smoothly slanting slope (cf. fig.1, the heavy filled circles). In certain interrogative sentences the stressed syllables have the same (high) fundamental frequency, i.e. a „flat" contour. Other types of questions and non-final periods have slopes in between these two extremes.
Perception experiments on part of the corpus, involving 14 listeners, have shown that utterances which differ only in their intonation contours can be identified with rather great certainty as being either declarative, non-final, or interrogative, in complete accordance with the actual course of the fundamental frequency, and further, that the vital information about the intonation contour, i.e. sentence type, is contained in the last stressed syllable, which is only to expected, since this is the point where different intonation contours are most widely separated.

1) "Fundamental frequency" is the acoustical term for what is often called "speech melody" or "tone" or

At the moment a material is being analyzed which is to shed light on the tonal manifestation of various forms of emphasis, and on the tonal manifestation of syllables with assimilated or elided / ə /.

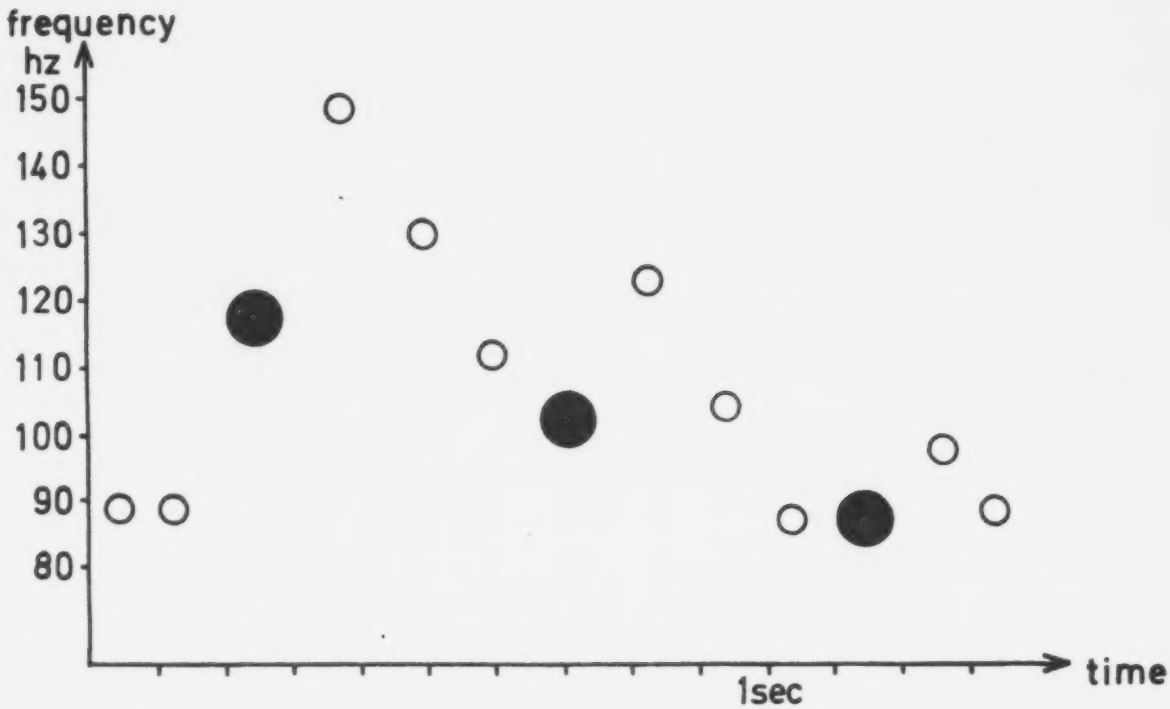

Fig. 1: A simplified model of the course of fundamental frequency in a short statement in Advanced Standard Copenhagen Danish, e.g. „Der er flere indianere i Mexico" (There are more indians in Mexico.) or any other statement with the same distribution of stressed and unstressed syllables. The heavy filled dots depict stressed syllables, the small in-filled dots represent unstressed syllables. The frequency scale fits a normal male voice.

Nina Thorsen, 1976: „An acoustical investigation of Danish intonation: preliminary results" Ann. Rep. of the Inst. of Phonetics, Univ. of Cph. 10: 85-147 (also in: Journ. of Phonetics, 6,1978).

Nina Thorsen, 1978: „On the identification of selected Danish intonation contours" Ann. Rep. of the Inst. of Phonetics, Univ. of Cph. 12 (forthcoming).

VOGNMANDSMARKEN: a Guest-Workers' Ghetto in Copenhagen

This project may be properly called "action research". Its major object is to assist the community organization of nearly 1400 foreign workers and their families, who presently live in Vognmandsmarken, and who will be forced to move into other housing in 1978 when Vognmandsmarken is torn down. The research situation attempts to identify shared needs and interests for a highly diverse resident population. The project aims, moreover, at giving these common interests a political voice in the Danish society. Vognmandsmarken's population is powerless politically, although the ethnic groups possess a high degree of solidarity.

The resident population consists of Yugoslavian, Turkish, Pakistani, and Moroccan families. Less than 10% of the residents are Danish. The Yugoslav group, which is the largest (c. 40%), is composed of Albanian-speaking and Turkish-speaking people from two districts of Macedonia, Tetuvo and Prespa respectively. Though ethnically diverse, Vognmandsmarken is a Mohammedan community.

Through group interviews, meetings, and discussions, the research group has been able to discover a list of demands, which the residents will make to the Kommune. The first month of 1978 will tell whether our research goals are effective. The research group includes students from the Institute for Ethnography, the Institute for Cultural Sociology, and the School of Social Work.

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This is not a project description, but only a statement of some basic principles that I think workers in this area should take into account.
The author has no experience whatever in teaching immigrant workers but is at present involved in a cross-disciplinary program on foreign language pedagogy in two ways:

(1) teaching a course in the Division of Inter-humanistic Studies *(Tværfagsinstitutionen)*, lower level, 1 semester:

(2) chairing a newly established committee with representatives from all humanistic departments (less philosophy and classical archaeology), that is supposed to organize courses for foreign language students in the pedagogy and didactics of foreign language teaching.

To begin with, I don't believe that the problems of "foreign language teaching" belong to just one big category. In my view, the term "foreign language teaching" is far too abstract.

Specifiying it down to the concrete levels of teaching, one can still ask, are there any common problem areas that we may delve into from different starting points?
For example, what can the teaching of foreign adults (immigrant workers) contribute to the teaching of foreign languages in high schools, universities, etc.?
(Here I'm not thinking of practical aspects only, but rather of those having to do with general problems such as: whose language are we teaching to who?)

Conversely, one could ask if teaching foreign languages in the schools has given any concrete, useful impetus to the teaching of the immigrant workers.
(Here the answer, I'm afraid, is in the negative. The question is now: Why? Is this due to differences in "target groups", to inadequate teaching technologies, or to basic misunderstandings as to the nature of the process involved?)

I think experiences with the teaching of, say, Danish to Turks have shown that

(1) the concept of "target group" is important, but not only because of a superficial relation of "consumership". There is a definite need to analyze the groups of immigrant workers in their total relationship to the host society: What are they here for?
Put in another way: motivation isn't just some moral category. One cannot "motivate" people. The motives (=moving principles) of society are outside the individual's reach, especially the immigrant induvidual's.

(2) In general, education in our society is considered as the road to "qualification" (M. Masuch). One has to ask oneself: What are the qualifications that an immigrant worker needs to " make it" in the system? Because: those are precisely the qualifications that we can get the authorities to pay for. (Which is evident, and besides sticks out like a sore toe the moment one has a look at what immigrant workers really learn...)

As far as teaching technologies are concerned, I think that they are useful to a certain point. That is, we should not think of teaching as a matter of technology (the language lab in its heyday) any more than learning is a matter of " good teachers" only (the question is rather: what is a good teacher, and why, in what respects, is she/he "good"?).

The process involved: I think of teaching as a means to acquire knowledge, abilities, attitudes, etc. to cope with one's life in society. From this point of view, we should ask ourselves some hard-hitting questions:

What do the immigrant workers need mostly in their lives, or, in other words, what makes their lives most miserable?

How can knowing the "home" language make their lives more liveable?

A particular problem area is that of the language relationships between first and second (third?) generation immigrants. (We have all heard of the "melting pot" ideology, but the bizarre consequences that such an attitude may have with regard to simple human relationships such as parents-children have not been taken seriously).

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DANISH GRAMMAR FOR FOREIGNERS

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Supported by Statens Humanistiske Forskningsråd

The primary target group of our project is a class of students who are heterogenous as regards mother tongue as well as theoretical backgroung. We are aiming particularly at language instruction in Denmark. The grammar is intended for the elementary and higher levels.

This definition of the target group lays down certain grammatico-theoretical and pedagogical lines for the drawing up of the grammar. The grammar must be orientated towards a universal theory of language, related to the everyday life of the students, be specific in its presentation, and have a progression which makes it suitable for classroom teaching.

It is our aim to structure the grammar on the basis of general categories of conception. The models of language which we use are Leech's Deep Semantics and Fillmore's Case Grammar. The organizing principle of the grammar is thus that conceptual categories and relations are separated from syntactic categories and structures. The levels are interrelated, but independently structured. The selection of a given possibility on the semantic level is realized by selections on the syntactic level. Contrastive considerations have a bearing on, for instance, the explanation of semantic differentiations which are not functional in certain other languages.

We see the language from a pragmatic point of view. We agree with the view that learning will be promoted if the language is learned as a whole act in a meaningful social context. This means primarily that the exemplification is rooted in a defined speech situation, i.e. a defined context in which deixis appears clearly. It also has the implication that the exemplification must be based on the social environment which the student encounters.

An important means by which to form a link with a social reality is visualization. Visualization by means of sketches, strip cartoons and tables also work as a key to conceptual categories.

The progression is constructed so as to continually confront the student with the preceding elements of a problem while this is being developed. It is our endeavour to adapt the progression in such a way that the grammar may form part of a cyclical syllabus.

While the project was being drawn up it changed from being orientated towards surface structure only to being structured on the basis of semantic criteria as stated above. Drafts on certain subjects, among them verbs and pronouns, have been published by Folkeuniversitetet i København.

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Projects:
I. (Pertti Toukomaa & Tove Skutnabb-Kangas)

Primacy of the mother tongue in the bilingual education of Finnish migrant children in Sweden.

(a study supported by Unesco)

Main publications:

Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove & Toukomaa, Pertti:
Teaching migrant children's mother tongue and learning the language of the host country in the context of the socio-cultural situation of the migrant family. Department of Sociology and Social Psychology, University of Tampere. Research Report No. 15, stencil, 99 pp. Tampere 1976.

Toukomaa, Pertti & Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove:
The intensive teaching of the mother tongue to migrant children at pre-school age. Stencil. 79 pp. Tampere 1977. (Dept. of Sociology and Social Psychology. Univ. of Tampere. Report No. 26.)

Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove:
Bilingualism, Semilingualism and School Achievement.
Linguistische Berichte 45, S. 55-64, 1976

Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove:
Languages in the process of cultural assimilation and structural incorporation of the linguistic minorities.
In: Claes-Christian Elert et al, eds., Dialectology and Sociolinguistics. Essays in Honour of Karl-Hampus Dahlstedt. Umeå 1977. S. 191-203.

The final report is supposed to be published in 1978.

II. (Pertti Toukomaa & Jorma Kuusela)

Socio-ecological factors in the education of immigrant children.

The aim of the project is to study the (Finnish) immigrant children's educational situation at the social macro-level. 67 communities with 75% of the immigrant pupils in Sweden are studied. Data has been collected from the official statistics. The independent variables used are demographic background data, the mediating variables the knowledge of Swedish as estimated by the teachers, and the organization of the immigrant education in each community. The dependent variable is the school achievement as measured by the entrance into the Swedish gymnasium.

Preliminary report: Toukomaa, Pertti & Kuusela, Jorma:
Preliminära resultat av undersökningen om socioekologiska samband bakom invandrarbarnens utbildningssituation. 20.2.1978.

III. (Pertti Toukomaa)

The development of the young immigrant's occupational aspirations between the grades 5 to 9.

Preliminary report with Simo Seppo, University of Joensuu.

IV. (Tove Skutnabb-Kangas)

Experiences, opinions and feelings about bilingualism and semilingualism of "completely bilingual" and "semilingual" persons.

Progress in immigrant Swedish syntax

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This study deals with the acquisition of certain syntactic structures of Swedish by adult immigrant learners of the language. The assumption is that new linguistic structures are gradually acquired, and that the variation found in the language of the learner during the acquisition period can be seen as a consequence of this. If this assumption is correct, the study of variable phenomena in the language of the learner should be of great interest for establishing the route of acquisition of the new structure. I have therefore chosen to study syntactic areas where a great deal of variation can be found in the output of learners from diverse language backgrounds. These areas involve the placement of negation, syntactic means for the expression of questions, and subject-verb inversion after sentence-initial non-subject.

Data

For the collection of data, I have used formal elicitation materials generating intuitional data. These materials were constructed on the basis of earlier preliminary observations of freely produced oral and written data. The motivation for using data elicited by formal means rather than spontaneously produced data in this phase of the investigation was that this procedure allowed me to test the regular nature of the variation in a controlled manner. The number of cases of the variable phenomenon studied could be increased, and the linguistic context could be held constant. Data have been elicited from a group of 160 learners, attending courses in Swedish for immigrants. The data have been collected on two occasions, Time I and Time II, in the 3rd and 8th week of studies respectively. Supplementary data were collected from a group of 29 learners.

Analysis and description

The first stage in the analysis was to look at the group of 160 individuals as a whole. This allowed a preliminary hypothesis as to the implicational patterns that might be found in the variation of

the individuals. This hypothesis was subsequently tested through an analysis of each individual's output with the help of implicational scales. This method made it possible to discern the context-dependent regularities in the variation that could be found in the data.

The results from the individual subjects were then arranged in such a way as to give us a continuum, i.e. the subjects were placed in a continuum according to their degree of target-like output on the structure in question with those that approximated closest to the target structure placed at one end and with those deviating sharply at the other. There is support for the interpretation that the continuum reflects the sequence of acquisition for each individual, since an identical analysis was made of the same 160 individuals' output at Time II. This provided a longitudinal "control" of the conclusions drawn from the analysis of Time I.

For the description of the data, I have used variable rules that specify the favourable and unfavourable contexts for the acquisition of the syntactic structures studied.

Results and interpretation of results

The results of the study are given in the publications listed below. Here, I will only give a rough indication of the findings.

First of all, individual variation is found in all syntactic areas studied, although some learners showed categorical behaviour in some or all structures. Since both simple and embedded clauses were studied within each area, it was possible to see that some learners did not differentiate between the two clause types, while others did. For example, the negator was placed either before, after or variably before and after the finite verb in both simple and embedded clauses in the same manner. (In the Swedish target, the negator is placed before the finite verb in embedded clauses and after it in simple clauses.)

A close examination of the variation showed that the variants used

were differently favoured by the nature of the linguistic context of the phenomenon in question. This was clearly the case in the negative structures and for inversion in yes/no questions. The nature of the finite verb in the sentence, i.e. whether it was an auxiliary verb or a main verb, turned out to be important for the application of the target norm. Other contexts chosen for this study did not influence the choice of variants. However, since the study is not exhaustive, this does not exclude the possibilities of other important contexts.

An interpretation of the results as mirroring development - in accord with the uniformitarian doctrine for linguistics in Labov's terminology - is discussed. According to such an interpretation, the syntactic structures studied in this investigation are learned gradually. This results in the alternative use of equivalent structures during the learning period, i.e. variation. So interpreted, the results point towards the fact that no differentiation is made between simple and embedded clauses in the initial stages of the acquisition of certain structures. Furthermore, in the course of development, target rules are applied earlier in certain contexts than in others, i.e. the favourable contexts are interpreted as earlier.

Publications

Hyltenstam, K., Progress in Immigrant Swedish Syntax. A Variability Analysis. Lund: Dept. of General Linguistics, University of Lund, 1978

- Implicational patterns in interlanguage syntax variation. Language Learning, 27, 383-411, 1977

- A framework for the study of interlanguage continua. Working Papers, Phonetic Laboratory, Department of General Linguistics, Lund University, 16, 65-86, 1978

- Variation in interlanguage syntax. Working Papers, Phonetic Laboratory, Department of General Linguistics, Lund University, 18, 1978

FINNO-UGRIC LANGUAGE CONTACT IN SWEDEN
A RESEARCH PLAN*)

In the last ten years many research projects have been started in Sweden, the aim of which is the investigation of the language of immigrants, especially that of immigrant children. The object of the investigation of the so-called SPRINS-project in Gothenburg is to study "how immigrant children from different language groups with various linguistic stimulation learn Swedish" (Tingbjörn 1977; SPRINS is the Swedish short for "The development of the language of immigrant children in Sweden").
In the project called "Models for Bilingual Teaching of Immigrant Children" at the Department of Pedagogics at the University of Lund the main purpose is to test the effects of different models for bilingual teaching of immigrant children. The lingustic results from this project which have so far been presented concern the development of specific grammatical features in the Swedish of the children (Johannesson 1977, Wigforss 1977). At the Department of Linguistics in Stockholm a current project is called Svenska som målspråk (SSM, Swedish as a Target Language). The main purpose of this project is to investigate the characteristics of the Swedish language that cause learning problems to immigrants studying Swedish (Hammarberg 1975). These projects are three of the most important that are going on in Sweden at present dealing with the language of immigrants or minorities in Sweden. All this research is important and of great value. But as these examples show the research of the language of immigrants is concentrated on their Swedish. Very little attention has been drawn to the development of their mother tongues. Neither have the authorities nor the university departments where these languages are being studied shown any great interest in this type of study. As a matter of fact the university departments have been remarkably passive in investigating what happens to the languages of the immigrants and other minorities when these are confronted with Swedish in a dominating, Swedish-speaking environment. This has also been the case with the departments of Finnish and Finno-Ugric Languages, although the Department of Finno-Ugric Languages in Uppsala has been involved in the preparation of interdisciplinary investigations in this field on two occasions. One of the explanations for this lies in the difficulty of the departments to emancipate themselves from traditional, often historically comparative linguistic research and become aware of what is happening to these languages outside the academic environment. Another reason for this state of things is that the departments have actually been or have been looked upon as small language departments and have so far been obliged to spend their relatively small economic and personal resources and interests on teaching the languages in question to Swedish beginners or on instructing translators. A further reason for this situation may be that the immigrant policy of Sweden concerning the language situation of the immigrants has mainly been directed upon teaching them Swedish. Consequently the research has the same trend.

The minority languages in the Swedish environment

It seems, however, that time is ripe for studies in the mother tongues of the minorities. It is a matter of course that university departments in Sweden, where minority languages are being studied, have a main interest in investigating not how the Swedish of the minorities is influenced by their mother tongue but how their mother tongue is changing in an environment where Swedish is the language of the majority. For our part, this means that we are occupied with the problem of what happens to Finnish and the other Finno-Ugric languages in their confrontation with Swedish. We are interested in describing Immigrant Finnish (and Torne

*) *This report was read at the Seminar on Swedish-Finnish Contrastive Grammar in Turku in November 25-26, 1977.*
I will thank Stig Eliasson and Per Linell for valuable comments on certain ideas in the research plan.

Finnish which is also a minority language within Sweden), the Lappish spoken in Sweden, Immigrant Hungarian. Of course, this study cannot be made without studying the Swedish language system as well. To a great extent our investigation must be contrastive – we cannot leave the Swedish influence on these languages aside. And it is above all in the contrastive field that we are apt to cooperate with other projects with intentions that are similar to ours.

The FUSKIS-project

At the Department of Finno-Ugric Languages in Uppsala we have fairly concrete plans for starting a research project which is prelimimarily called *Finsk-ugrisk språkkontakt i Sverige* (FUSKIS; Finno-Ugric Language Contact in Sweden). The aim of the project is to investigate the Finnish, Lappish, Estonian and Hungarian languages in Sweden. We will study foremost morphology and syntax in the written and/or spoken language of school age children, who have the above mentioned languages as their mother tongue and who are taught these languages in the primary school.

So far very little purely linguistic research has been done in this field. Pertti Toukomaa, a Finnish behaviour scientist, has studied the proficiency in Swedish and Finnish of Finnish immigrant school age children, but the main purpose of his investigations is not linguistic. At the department in Uppsala three are only a couple of small studies published in this field, which can be said to have a contrastive approach. They are papers written at the third semester level. One of them is by Ilkka Pärssinen (1974) and it deals with Finnish speaking immigrant children's difficulties in Finnish orthography. The other one is an essay of the type that has been produced to a great extent at Finnish universities, namely Laila Arvidssons essay "The Finnish equivalent of the Swedish preposition "till" in the translation of Lars Gyllensten's The Memoirs of Kain" (1977). As far as I know there are no contrastive studies made concerning Lappish and Swedish. As regards Estonian there is a short article about Swedish loanwords in Swedish Estonian written by Juhan Tuldava (1965). Finally, Bengt Svensson, researcher of Scandinavian languages and general linguistics in Umeå, is occupied with a study of the Swedish of Hungarians, but there are no investigations made of the Hungarian language of immigrant Hungarians in Sweden.

Linguistic and pedagogic motives for the project

One reason for starting the FUSKIS-project is a linguistic one. It is a legitimate linguistic aim to investigate how the Swedish language and the Swedish environment bring about changes in each of the above-mentioned languages. In short, Swedish interference phenomena in the languages in question. This is of course a legitimate linguistic interest especially if one looks upon contrastive linguistics as a linguistic field of its own.

It is also possible that contrastive data concerning these languages may be useful for evaluating particular linguistic descriptions which are originally based entirely on descriptive data from the particular language. Stig Eliasson has shown that this can be the case in a discussion of how the Swedish quantity system can interfere with the Finnish quantity system in Swedes learning Finnish (Eliasson 1977). In accordance with several other authors he maintains that contrastive analysis can benefit the analyses of specific linguistic phenomena in each of the compared languages (for contrastive data as "external" evidence in descriptive analyses cf. also Eliasson 1976).

The second reason is chiefly pedagogic: teachers of Finnish as a vernacular in Sweden have often asked for contrastive Swedish-Finnish material to be used in the school. In their teaching they often meet with interference phenomena in the Finnish of immigrant children and they would like to have a systematization of these, possibly some sort of contrastive grammar. The lack of contrastive studies has also made itself felt in the teaching of Finnish and other languages at our own department at Uppsala.

The team of researchers

The team of researchers going to work on this project consists of five students at the doctoral level of Finno-Ugric studies, who intend to prepare their dissertation inside the project. The scientific leader of the project is professor Bo Wickman and project leader is Erling Wande. The researchers are Sivi Näkkäläjärvi (Lappish), Raimo Raag (Estonian), Judith Andrée (Hungarian), Anne Nesser and Jarmo Tuominen (Finnish). They all speak the language in question as their mother tongue and they have all gone to school or have received their university education in Sweden. Beside Finno-Ugric languages most of them have studied Swedish or theoretical linguistics at the university. Näkkäläjärvi has been teacher of Finnish and Lappish in the Swedish school, Andrée of Hungarian. An important part of the work is that it can be done as a team-work and the drawing up of the project is aimed at parallell work in all the languages. The situation is, however, not quite the same for Finnish on the one hand and Lappish, Estonian and Hungarian on the other.

Lappish, Estonian, Hungarian

The first period of the work is devoted to the preparation of fairly short, general descriptions of the structure of the languages. The starting-point will be the commonly used manuals of the languages in question and the purpose is to produce a description of each of these languages as contrasted to Swedish. As a suitable model for this we regard Fred Karlssons presentation of the structure of Finnish (Karlsson 1976), in which he has adopted a contrastive Finnish-Swedish approach. The descriptions are planned to be given in a frame-work which is as uniform as possible. Of course phenomena specific for each language and the traditional terminology in the descriptions of the grammars will have to be taken into consideration.

The underlying idea with regard to these structural descriptions is the idea of contrastive analysis as a means of getting hints of in which parts of the linguistic system structural interference is to be expected. This means an analysis which is a sort of compromise between a strong and a weak version of contrastive analysis, in the sense of the terms that e.g. Eliasson (1976) has given them. The general question will be: in what parts of the language system are interference phenomena to be expected, given theoretically as uniform descriptions as possible of the languages to be compared? The answer to this question will probably, to some extent at least, direct our further investigations. Furthermore, structural descriptions of this kind can be of interest to the teachers of the immigrants, both to the teachers of the mother tongue and to the teachers of Swedish.

The second period of the investigation will primarily be devoted to collecting of material and to error analysis. Most of the material will probably be written material, such as school essays. In collecting material and in the error analysis the same methods that have been used in the project Swedish as a Target Language in Stockholm will to a great extent be used (cf. Hammarberg & Viberg 1977).

The third period means working up an analyzing the material, making frequency calculations on it, systematizing it and preparing reports.

Finnish

The Finnish studies will be done in principally the same way. But as there is, in fact, some contrastive work done concerning Finnish and Swedish most of the first period work can be skipped. As Finnish is already one step forward in comparison with the other languages the Finnish investigation can perhaps go further and be more specific. Preliminarily two investigations have been planned:

a) *The Finnish of school age immigrant children* (Jarmo Tuominen).
This will be in broad outline a study of the same type as those for Lappish, Estonian and

Hungarian. If possible a longitudinal study of the development of Finnish in primary school children from the first class upwards will be carried out. The department has got at its disposal a material from an investigation in Västerås, which has nor yet been analyzed from a linguistic point of view. The name of the Västerås project was "The language and the social situation of Finnish immigrant children in classes 1-3 at the Vallby school in Västerås" and the material consists of tape recordings and short essays of the children in Finnish and Swedish. So far the material is too limited to be able to reveal anything essential about the language development in each individual child. But when completed it may give a fairly good picture of what type of Finnish a socially rather homogenous group of children learn in a certain Swedish environment. As the interviews are on both languages contrastive aspects can be taken into consideration also here. Furthermore interviews with children of the same age and from the same social environment in Lahti in Finland will be made and written material will be collected for comparisons with the Swedish material.

b) *The Development of the Proficiency in Finnish and Swedish in Finnish Pre-school Age Children* (Anne Nesser).

As reference material for this investigation among others, the investigations made by Ragnhild Söderberg in Stockholm on language development in Swedish children can be used (see e.g. Söderberg 1973; several reports have been presented). Studies of language development in Finnish children are made by Kauppinen (1977) and within The Oulu Project on Finnic Child Languages (Toivainen 1976). Finnish material can also be found in Bowerman (1973). In the first place the study will be focussed on syntax. Dependant on the quality of the material that can be collected, the object of the investigation may possibly be semantics and the question raised will be the following: do the children develop the same semantic distinctions in both languages or is the order of development depending on formal differences between the languages?

The starting-point for the analysis of the material from the other investigations will be the following:

a) on which points will, in fact, interference phenomena be found in the confrontation of the Lappish, Estonian, Hungarian and Finnish languages with Swedish?
b) do the observed data of interference correspond with what could be expected from a theoretical, contrastive point of view?
c) is there a special hierarchy or order for when, in what way an how strongly the phenomena will appear?

In concrete terms these investigations are intended to produce material for reports such as "Swedish interference in the Lappish of Lappish-speaking children in Sweden".

In a long term perspective we hope this project will give us typologically interesting material and that the project can continue in a typological direction. A preliminary question that can be raised from this point of view is: *Are there any features, relevant from a typological viewpoint, which are common to the contact or confrontation of the four Finno-Ugric languages with Swedish?*

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OPTIMAL TEACHING OF SWEDISH PRONUNCATION

Project: Optimal teaching of Swedish pronunciation (Optimering av svenskt uttal)

Address: Phonetics Department
Lund University
Kävlingevägen 20
S-222 40 Lund

Research workers: Eva Gårding, PhD, Docent
Robert Bannert, PhD, Docent (full time)

Time: 1.7.1976 - 30.6.1979

Sponsor: The Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation

Goal: To improve the teaching of Swedish pronunciation

Project work:

1. *The foreign accent archives*
Recordings of samples of Swedish, spoken by representatives of major immigrant groups and of languages whose phonology differs from Swedish in an interesting way. At present the archives comprise 24 languages. Different styles of speech (spontaneous, readings of texts etc.) are elicited from each informant.

2. *Analysis of the materials*
Statistically important errors (typical errors) are classified as rules violating the Swedish phonological system.

3. *Constrative analysis*
Comparison of results under 2 with available analyses of the primary languages.

4. *Evaluation of the effect on communication of typical errors*
Hypotheses on the severity of errors from the listener's point of view are formed and tested by means of manipulated stimuli.

5. *Establishing error syndroms*
Some errors always cooccur, e.g. unaspirated voiceless stops and regressive assimilation. A knowledge of the phonetic mechanisms that cause these syndroms are an obvious help and shortcut in teaching.

6. *Clinical work*
Case studies by means of audial and audio-visual feedback methods.

7. *Applications*
Results from 1-6 will make it possible to describe and explain difficulties that foreigners of different linguistic background encounter in Swedish, to suggest practical remedies and ordering of pronunciation exercises and their integration with other parts of the grammar.

MODELS FOR THE BILINGUAL INSTRUCTION OF IMMIGRANT CHILDREN

In progress at: The Institute of Education, University of Lund

Time schedule: 1972 - 79

Project leader: Professor Ingvar Johannesson, Department of Education

Members: Research assistants:
Karin Aronsson, Department of Psychology
Pirjo Ouvinen-Birgerstam, Department of Education
Eva Wigforss, Department of General Phonetics

Sponsor: The National Board of Education

Purposes of the project: If immigrant children not having Swedish as a native language are to be given similar opportunities to those provided for Swedish children, a teaching situation must be created which is aimed at bilingualism. In recent decades, linguistic experts and educationalists have been more and more emphatic concerning the importance, if not the necessity of the first steps in reading being taught in the child's home language (UNESCO 1953 and 1961).

But immigrant children also need Swedish in order to be able to grow into Swedish society and enjoy the same opportunities of further education and study as Swedish children.

Bilingualism, then means more than the ability to speak two languages. It also implies participation in both the cultures communicated by those languages.

For practical purposes, therefore, we have defined the purpose of bilingual instruction as being to achieve *functional bilingualism*. The object of this instruction is to enable the pupil to understand and speak two languages, to participate in two cultures and to be able to chose freely between living and working in two countries.

Organisation of the project: This project is not solely concerned with the instruction received by children in the compulsory school from the age of seven upwards. We have found it necessary to start with earlier ages, in view of the fundamental influence of linguistic development before the age of seven on the development occuring during a child's school career. Thus a great part of our project involves work with and studies of children in pre-school institutions, where the home language is developed by all means at the teacher's disposal.

We also realize that bilingual learning is greatly influenced by the attitude adopted by parents and by their involment in their children's instruction. For this reason our work has also included efforts to initiate study activities for the parents of the children participating in our project. All this means that the project consists of three parts:

1. Bilingual pre-school activities
2. Bilingual comprehensive school instruction
3. Study activities for the parents of the pupils concerned.

Pupil groups studied:

The project is a longitudinal study of four groups of Finnish children. A number of Finnish families living in the "Rosengården" area of the city of Malmö were offered free places for their five and six-year-old children in a bilingual pre-school programe. Most of the families accepted this offer and the original number of children per group was roughly fifteen.
The four groups of children are denoted by the Roman numerals I (children born 1966), II (1967), III (1968) and IV (1969). Each group started nursery school at the age of five and has been followed, in principle, as far as the end of grade 3 of the comprehensive school, making five years in all. The exception to the rule is provided by group I, which started nursery school at the age of six.

Organisation of the instruction models:

The aim of the nursery school (Leikkikoulu) is to provide children with all-round bilingual and bicultural motoric, cognitive, social and linguistic training. Leikkikoulu does not differ from other nursery school in terms of resources, e g allocations for excursions or materials. On the other hand it is a relatively "unique" nursery school in terms of aspiration and wealth of stimulation.
Basically the bilingual instruction model in the comprehensive school implied that the Finnish-speaking immigrant children were taught their first steps in reading and writing in Finnish instead of Swedish. Otherwise these children were taught in Swedish, together with the other (mostly Swedish-speaking) members of their classes. Time appointed for the two languages was fifty-fifty in grade 1, nearly the same in grade 2 and one third in Finnish in grade 3. (Below, a scheme is given (figure 1) for the different groups' particioation in the models).

The scientific evaluation:

The development of each individual child is being followed in detail for the duration of the project. Longitudinal case studies form an important part of the scientific evaluation process. At the same time, cross-sectional comparisions have been done with larger groups of children, with respect to school-achievement and linguistic and general development. This evaluation has been conducted on an interdisciplinary basis.

Figure 1. Children in the project, group I (children born 1966), II (1967), III (1968) and IV (1969) by teaching group and schoolyear. The instruction model extends over nursery school to grade 3.

Teaching group: / School year:	NURSERY SCHOOL 5 years	NURSERY SCHOOL 6 years	COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL (grades) 1	2	3	4	5	6
1972/73	II	I						
1973/74	III	II	I					
1974/75	IV	III	II	I				
1975/76		IV	III	II	I			
1976/77			IV	III	II	I		
1977/78				IV	III	II	I	
1978/79					IV	III	II	I

Lund, the 10 of February 1978
Eva Wigforss

SWEDISH AS A TARGET LANGUAGE: A BRIEF PROJECT DESCRIPTION

Name
Original: Svenska som målspråk. Abbreviation: SSM. Translation: Swedish as a Target Language, Schwedisch als Zielsprache.

Institutional affiliation
University of Stockholm, Institute of Linguistics

Research supervisor
Bengt Sigurd

Project leader
Björn Hammarberg

Staff researchers
Björn Hammarberg, Åke Viberg

Duration
First period (SSM 1) 1973-1977. Second period (SSM) 1977-1980

Source of finance
National Swedish Board of Education (Skolöverstyrelsen)

Contents of the project
Swedish is nowadays being taught as a second language to immigrants from well over 100 countries. One major complication with this undertaking is that the available knowledge of the subject-matter to be taught is far from adequate. Teachers constantly run across problems of grammar where they cannot grasp clearly what the various learners actually need to learn in Swedish. The fact that the immigrants represent such a wide range of native languages makes the situation more complex, since learners with different mother tongues may have very different learning problems in Swedish.

The SSM project aims at investigating facts of language structure that represent problems for learners of Swedish, and also to study how learners handle such problems. We take a special interest in the ways in which learning problems vary across groups of learners with different linguistic background, and the extent to which this variation correlates with the structure of the native languages. It is clear that very often different learners have the same problem in Swedish irrespective of differences in mother tongue structure, and these cases also have to be accounted for. The results of the project work are intended to serve as part of the basis for devising instruction, teacher education, curricula, teaching materials etc. in Swedish for immigrants.

We have chosen a language typology approach as a theoretical frame of reference. Two larger introductory studies have been undertaken in the first project period (SSM 1); comprehensive reports of this work are now in preparation. One of these studies consists of an investigation of the types of errors that occur with learners of Swedish from ten language areas. The other study treats the structure of Swedish in typological comparison with a number of other languages, retrieving information from linguistic literature and from elicitation work with native informants. The error and typology investigations form a point of departure for closer studies of selected grammatical and phonetic problems. Topics covered so far include word order and syntactic place-holders, subordination and reported speech, anaphoric processes, problems in Swedish syntax for Arabs. (Cf the list of SSM Reports below.) Further reports

are being prepared on subordinate clause systems, definiteness, tense, and some problems of segmental phonology.

So far, our work has mainly been devoted to basic grammatical investigation rather than studies of the performance and acquisition process. We have considered this to be a necessary first step on view of the present lack of documented knowledge of Swedish in a target-language perspective. But in the course of the current project period (SSM 2), the focus of attention will gradually shift over to studies of how learners perform and how they proceed in acquiring a Swedish interlanguage.

Publications
Interim results from the project are published in a mimeographed report series, *SSM Reports*, which is issued from the Institute of linguistics. In most cases, a version of these reports also appears in print.

LIST OF SSM REPORTS AND PRINTED VERSIONS

1. Hammarberg, Björn and Viberg, Åke, *Felanalys och språktypologi, Orientering om två del-studier i SSM-projektet.* July 1977. 34 pp. Also to appear in *Nysvenska studier.*

2. Hammarberg, Björn and Viberg, Åke, *Platshållartvånget, ett syntaktiskt problem i svenskan för invandrare.* Dec. 1975. 57 pp. A revised version is to appear in *Studia linguistica* under the title "The Place-Holder Constraint, Language Typology, and the Teaching of Swedish to Immigrants".

3. Hammarberg, Björn and Viberg, Åke, *Anaforiska processer i svenskan i invandrarperspektiv - några utgångspunkter.* Jan. 1976. 13 pp. Also printed in *Nysvenska studier* 55-56: 213-226, 1976.

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5. Hammarberg, Björn and Viberg, Åke, *Reported Speech in Swedish and ten Immigrant languages.* Nov. 1976. 21 pp. Also printed in *Papers from the Third Scandinavian Conference of Linguistics,* ed. by Fred Karlsson, Turku 1976.

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LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT OF IMMIGRANT CHILDREN

Leader: Anders Hill

Sponsor: National Board of Education

Duration: 1976 - 1978

The purpose of the project is to describe the language development of immigrant children in terms of societal engagement in supporting language development and stresses in terms of living conditions particular to immigrant families.

The empirical study contains two ethnic groups, totally 60 children from Finland and Jugoslavia. These are divided into four minor groups according to preschool background as far as stimulation of the native language is concerned, i.e. half of the children have during their preschool period been exposed to their native language exlusively, while the other half have been placed in ordinary preschools among Swedish peers. The children were at the time for our data collection aged seven to eleven.

One of our goals is to measure the lasting effect of the language stimulation from the preschool years. This stimulation of the native language development has been claimed to be of uttermost importance for the further language development and the possibilities of acquiring a second language.

Language development is however just to a very limited extent an educational issue. Therefore, one goal of major importance of the project has been to relate the language situation and functioning of the child to their living conditions as a whole, i.e. including as well the functioning, mentally, socially and culturally, of the parents as the social behaviour of the specific child.

The methods used in the data collection are mainly interviews and questionnaire forms. We have interviewed the parents concerning their views in different respects of being immigrants in Sweden. The parents also filled a questionnaire form concerning childrearing patterns, language habits and attitudes towards their home country. The children were interviewed about the reality they face in the living area, among peers, in school and so forth. They were also tested with a vocabulary test. This test does not give a complete picture of their language status, but a mere supervision of their limitations in using and understanding ordinary words used in school and the everyday communication. The test was given in Swedish as well as their native language.

Further the teachers in school have filled a questionnaire form about the children's performance both in regard to different abilities and to social relations in school.

The project is from a theoretical standpoint an ecological approach comprehending as well psycholinguistic theory and theoretical perspectives on bilingualism as social theories.

The data collected are being processed jan. - june 1978, so at this point I will not give any specific results obtained, just one example which might be of interest to the symposium. This is that we, as predicted from the theoretical standpoint,can notice that intensive stimulation of the native language in preschool does not seem to give any long time effects, i.e. give better opportunities to language development (as far as verbal understanding is concerned) or to school performance in terms of better achievement. This notation is worth to underline since many of the discussions about the language situation for immigrant children have been limited to strictly linguistic views without regard to the ecological reality that surrounds the children.

If interested in the wider theoretical perspectives behind the research, write a note and we will send a summary in English (17 pages).

Mölndal, february 13, 1978

Anders Hill

MULTILINGUALISM IN AUSTRALIA

1. A linguistic study was conducted of the transference and code-switching patterns of German- and Dutch-speaking immigrants and their descendants. It was based initially on tapes of interviews (mainly first language, partly English) with 200 first generation post-war German-speaking immigrants in Victoria (mostly Melbourne), 50 first generation German-speaking immigrants who come to Melbourne between 1933-9, seventy second generation children of German-speaking migrants, about 300 descendants of German settlers in former closed rural settlements (Victoria, South Australia, southern New South Wales), and 200 post-war Dutch migrants and their children. Sociolinguistic data were collected on the informants, and some families were subjected to a longitudinal study. Various tests were administered to verify the corpus (word-naming, genders, dictation, perception of code-switching, non-verbal acceptability and comprehensibility reactions to a videotape with transfer phenomena).

   Types of interlingual transference (lexical, semantic, syntactic, lexicosyntatic, phonological, graphemic) were classified and accounted for. Apart from words related to the Australian context, the "principle of least effort" contributes to transference. Most transference and switching tendencies set in within the first year in Australia. Some syntactic transfers which did not occur in German until the second generation were already prevalent in first generation Dutch. English lexical transfers are integrated along a continuum into the system of the recipient language. There is more stability of use and integration of transfers in the German of rural settlements than in immigrant German. Code-switching is determined by sociolinguistic factors (domain, interlocutor, locale, interaction type) or promoted by trigger-words belonging to both languages (lexical transfers, proper nouns, identical words, "compromise forms" between the two languages). Switches occur in consequence or anticipation of trigger-words. Anticipational switching tends to come at the phrase boundary, supporting the psychological reality of the phrase in sentence planning. Switches are perceived best at the clause boundary.

   While German-speaking parents tend to speak German to their children but largely receive English answers, Dutch parents are more likely to address their children in English. In rural settlements, German was kept alive for several generations through its use in community, church, and as a medium of education as well as in home and farm.

2. An investigation of factors and institutions promoting maintenance of ethnic languages demonstrated that factors work differently in various communities due to their combination. It is hoped to base a detailed analysis of such factors on the 1976 Australian Census.

   A study of speech and communication of elderly bilinguals revealed first language reversion, a strong symbolic function of the first language, and very severe communication problems among many in non-ethnic old people's homes, especially as compared to those in ethnic ones.

   Research was also undertaken into the use and tolerance of community languages other than English in Melbourne industry (including companies with head offices in non-English-speaking countries) and pidginization of English in the factory setting. Investigation are in progress on the foreign talk employed by Australian-born children of immigrants to their parents and/or grandparents.

3. Work is continuing on a linguistic model of cross-cultural communication based on pragmatic rules which differ in English and the reactions of three groups of ethnics (Italian, Greek, German-speaking) and an "Australian" control group to a number of communication routines. We are also investigating the use of "Anglo Saxon" and "non-Anglo-Saxon" rules for conducting meetings by ethnic organizations in Australia.

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Papers

THE MUTED VOICE OF IMMIGRANT WORKERS

Finn Korzen, Institute of Ethnography,
University of Copenhagen

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> "He learned twenty words of the new language. But to his amazement at first, their meaning changed when he spoke them. He asked for coffee. What the word signified to the barman was that he was asking for coffee in a bar where he should not be asking for coffee."
>
> John Berger and Jean Mohr,
> A Seventh Man (Penguin, 1975),
> p. 118.

PART I Integration or Autonomy?

It will be our contention in this paper that the voice of immigrant workers and their families is a central element in the problem of this conference; the language of immigrant workers. In our research we have attempted to identify some of the characteristic themes of the guest workers' experience in the "host society" that is Denmark.[1] We have been advocates of what might be termed a minority culture and politics in a society that takes considerable pride both in its cultural consensus and its political pluralism. It is precisely the cultural homogeneity in Danish society that gives the situation of guest workers its precarious quality.

The foreigner in Denmark is constantly presented with two axioms: 1."Denmark is a little land", and 2. "Danish is a difficult language". These two indisputable truths offer the guest worker a decidedly ambiguous reception. Denmark's self-image as "little" suggests coziness on the one hand and defensiveness on the other. Learning to speak Danish, moreover,

becomes not only an essential tool for adjustment (tilpasning) but it assumes at times the mystique of an initiation ritual. The immigrant is given the impression that learning Danish is the single important step in the "integration" process and in the acceptance by Danish society. "Integration" expresses in Danish what is often called "assimilation" in other European languages. Moreover, the idea of integration carries with it much of the ideological and repressive content of assimilation doctrines. The dominant class in the society makes use of integration or assimilation ideologies to hold hegemony over ethnic minorities and working class communities.[2]

Foreign workers, however, may feel very little interest in "integration". They often will try to learn enough Danish to meet the everyday needs of the factory and grocery store. The immigrant Worker, in this case, regards the second language, Danish, as an instrument for specific, practical ends. For expressing oneself, the immigrant must rely upon his or her native tongue.

It is on rare occasions - sometimes in connection with social research - that foreign workers have the opportunity to voice their thoughts in Danish. We have been fortunate enough to record a few examples of the immigrant workers' "voice" in dialogue with Danish co-workers. What follows is a selection from a discussion between Danish and foreign workers at the shipyards in Helsingør. We have transcribed the Danish dialogue from a tape recording, and some of the heat from the discussion has been cooled down in both the transcription and the translation.

The particular source of antagonism between the two groups of workers is an income tax exemption for remittance of wages sent home to aging parents. The exemption for remittance contracts is thoroughly checked by the municipal tax office. The exemption is a provision of the income tax law that antedates the arrival of guest workers in the late 1960's, but it is used by many guest workers who are obliged to support their parents.

Danes, as it is evident from the following, are irritated by the fact that foreign workers make use of the exemption, and they frequently accuse the immigrants of cheating on their income taxes. Though well known as a sore spot between Danish and foreign workers, we know of few authentic discussions on the topic of remittance contracts between members of the two groups. The passage we quote opens with a statement by the shop steward for the ship-builders' union:

Finn: "I'm against it when someone has a brother or sister in Italy, and the money goes first to Yugoslavia and then to Italy and then to Denmark again. And then you go around and play like Mr. Moneybags with ten thousand kroner that we don't have. And that's one of the things that gets Danes mad as hell at you."

Hamido (a Moroccan worker in the ship-builders' union): "I think there's a big misunderstanding about this question. Because there are so many people who talk about our sending money home, and they are all against it... except the people at the tax office (sic!). I think there's one thing you don't seem to know: we come from a poor country. At least most of us do. Denmark is way ahead of us. We are behind the times. And I have parents that I have to take care of; they expect me to. And so I leave home, right? I don't know where I'll end up, but I end up in Denmark, right? And I still have to take care of my parents. They expect it.

It's like Denmark was in the 1930's, when you had a son who took off for America. There were many who did it then, right?

I have sent 14.000 kroner home every year, and I'll keep on doing it; and if I don't, my parents will die of hunger."

Helge (a Danish ship-builder): "Danish people shouldn't have to take care of your parents that way."

Hamido: "It's <u>me</u> who takes care of my parents! I don't have the same rights as..."

Helge: "No, it's us who take care of your parents, because you can exempt it from your income taxes."

Hamido: "I don't think that's true."

Helge: "Yes, it is true. You are up here and have the same rights as we do, and that's OK, because you do the same work and live the same way as we do. But your parents shouldn't have the same rights as the rest of the people in Denmark."

Hamido: "No, I don't have everything the same as you do. I don't live the same way as you do. You have a yard; you have your own house; and I live in a little rented room, which is maybe five or sex meters square. And I pay six or seven hundred kroner a month for it. And I stay home a lot of the time. And I feel like a work-slave, because I have to live that way. Otherwise, I couldn't save up all the money. Because I don't have any yard or house to keep me happy, or all the nice furniture. You can buy nice furniture, and you can exempt the interest you pay on it."

Helge: "You can do that too. There's nobody who says you have to live in a single room.

Hamido: "What would I do with all that furniture?"

Helge: "There's nobody saying you cannot send money home, but why should you be able to write it off from your taxes?"

Finn: "I don't agree with what Hamido said. I agree more with Helge. It can't be right that foreign workers come to Denmark, and they are here for a half year, and then we have to take care of their old Grandmother back home in Algiers, or wherever they come from. And the one thing that really bugs me is those guys who play tricks and have the money sent back again. And then they go around and buy cars with the money.

Most of us who work down at the shipyards have no chance to cheat on our taxes. Every krone we earn is reported to the tax office by the Company."

Hamido: "Who says I don't pay any taxes? I pay 30.000 kroner

every year, and I don't get anything for it. I don't get any pension benefits for example. I don't get anything. And they tell me that if I'm unemployed for three-and-a-half years, I can go down to the welfare office and get a free one-way ticket home! What about my parents? I have two old people back home. I have to take care of them. I'm born that way. Because there's a difference in Culture. Who says I should pay for Helge's house? He gives 30.000 kroner for a down payment, and the house costs a half million kroner. He can write off every øre from his taxes. And I have to pay for it."

Helge: "You can do exactly the same, if you have a house."

Hamido: "Sure, I can, but I have parents. I can't afford a house. I only have two parents."

The dialogue, in which Hamido expresses a common theme of immigrant workers, reveals the cultural distance between himself and his Danish workmates. Hamido is relatively skilled in the Danish language, but he uses Danish, not so much to be integrated into the Danish society, but rather to demarcate his boundary to it. Hamido is arguing neither for integration nor for isolation, but for autonomy, for acceptance of his and other foreign workers' identity. Our research in foreign workers' milieux has shifted the focus, therefore, from the problem of integration to the problem of autonomy, and we think that this shift in emphasis catches better the actual voice and situation of immigrant workers in Denmark.

PART II Demography and Composition

We cannot present here an elaborate or detailed study of the demographic material that is available concerning the immigrant workers in Denmark. Some brief and cursory remarks are in order, so that a comparison with other European countries is possible.

The first wave of foreign workers came to Denmark in the

period, 1967 - 1970, primarily from Yugoslavia, Turkey, and Morocco. Immigrants from Pakistan arrived in Denmark some years later in 1970 - 1972.

Foreign workers from these four countries reached a total of nearly 20.000 persons in 1972. This figure constituted slightly under 50% of the non-Nordic foreign population in Denmark.

Especially among the Moroccan, Pakistani, and Turkish groups, there was a high proportion (c. 70%) of men, many of whom were married. Their wives and children remained in the homelands. The men sent wages home to provide for their parents as well as their wives and children. Such was the general situation in the period 1967 - 1972.

Foreign workers in Denmark have tended to concentrate in the greater Copenhagen area. About one-third of them live in the Kommune of Copenhagen, one-third in the County of Copenhagen, and the remaining third live in the other industrial towns of Denmark. Sociological research on the immigrant workers' conditions has focussed on housing and health problems.[3] Actual conditions and conflicts at the work places have seldom been handled in sociological research. They form what may be called a "taboo" topic.[4]

Besides being members of different nationalities, one finds within each nationality a diversity of ethnic and regional communities. We suspect that the immigrant worker population in Denmark has an unusually high proportion of minority groups. From Yugoslavia for example, there are substantial communities of Albanian and Turkish-speaking people whose home is in Macedonia. There are also sizable communities of Vlachs and Romi (Gypsies) from eastern Serbia. The Kurdish community represents, it is estimated, nearly one half of the Turkish citizens in Denmark.

Thus, although the immigrant worker population in Denmark appears small - tiny in comparison to that of Western Germany - it is by no means homogeneous. Many of Denmark's guest workers arrive here directly from small rural villages, and the gap between immigrant workers with an urban background and those

with a peasant background is often more decisive than nationality.[5]

It is the groups from rural peasantries who are still in the process of bringing their families to Denmark. Though there has been no significant importing of labor power since 1972, the immigrant worker population has been gradually rising and, more important, it has been levelling off into a more evenly distributed demographic pattern.

With respect to the question of structural development of the immigrant worker population in Denmark - apart from the question of size - we have every reason to think that the position of foreign workers in Denmark resembles closely that of other northern European societies.

The high sustained unemployment rate (c. 15-20%) since 1974 has apparently not been a deterrent for men to bring their families to Denmark. As the rejoining of immigrant families continues - not to mention the additional births - the specific language problems of the immigrant women become more acute. Women with Muslim backgrounds are especially isolated in the Danish urban world. These women, many of whom are newly arrived from peasant villages, benefit most from "community-centered" programs that meet them in their own milieux and on their own cultural terms. Learning Danish occurs, for example, in the context of a sewing club where Turkish women, often mothers and daughters, build upon their family organization and social networks. A high concentration of immigrant workers in a housing area may appear to the outsider as a "ghetto" with only negative connotations. But to the residents the ghetto allows their ethnic communities to survive in the "host society". Autonomy and identity for the persons in these communities count for more than "integration".

PART III Policy and Administration

The foreign workers' policy (fremmedarbejderpolitik) in Denmark has always been a low-profiled affair. Most of its programs are initiated and administered at the municipal level,

and since foreign workers themselves have no direct voice in determining foreign worker policy, they are dependent upon the Kommune in which they live to fund the programs which are possible. The foreign workers have found no solid political allies in the Danish society. In the early phase of labor immigration to Denmark, the Industrial Unions (SID) advocated a comprehensive policy to ensure equal conditions for foreign and Danish workers. Since 1974, however, one can detect a virtual withdrawal of political interest and support for the immigrant workers and their families. Unemployment has sharpened the resentment for guest workers, some of whom had been in Denmark for six years prior to the beginning of the crisis. In order to cut municipal costs, the city authorities stopped funding the foreign workers' clubs. The foreign workers' newspaper (Fremmedarbejderbladet) which was published monthly in four languages (Danish, Serbo-Croatian, Turkish, and Urdu) ceased receiving funds in April 1977. The paper had been funded by the Danish Employer Organization, the Trade Unions, and the Ministry of Labor. The paper was an important source of information to the immigrant workers' communities. There was space in the paper for poems and short stories, as well as items of information from the Ministry of Social Welfare or Tax Department. The sponsors of the paper stated that only 5.000 copies of the paper were sold, and therefore the should cease publication. One foreign worker commented: "Sure, there were only 5.000 copies sold, but every copy was read by five men."

The economic crisis has put the foreign worker problem low on the priority list of social issues in Denmark, though the demographic tendencies would indicate that the problem is more complicated than ever before. It is primarily in the public schools that the Danish authorities have addressed themselves to the immigrant worker phenomenon. The explicit goals in the school programs are to teach the children Danish and to "adjust" them to the Danish school environment. In theory these are rather modest goals, yet in practise we hear of examples in which school teachers in the "reception classes" define their task in terms of "integration".

We find that the schools attempt to group the immigrant children in classes that are as ethnically diverse as possible, so that the children will have to communicate in Danish. The official term for immigrant children is "foreign language-speaking pupils", and as soon as the children learn to speak Danish fluently, they are placed in regular Danish classes. The younger children (aged 7 - 9) may need to spend only one half year in the reception classes. Older school children may take up to two years in the reception classes before they learn Danish adequately enough to be placed in the regular classes. The schools also provide a kind of compensatory "extended reception" classes for those children who had difficulty learning Danish or adjusting to Danish schools. There is evidence that many immigrant workers' children fall behind in subjects like mathematics, because they have spent so much of their schooling to learn Danish. If the children do manage to learn Danish so competently that they need no special programs as "foreign language pupils", they cease to be reckoned by the school administration as "immigrant" pupils. Skill at speaking Danish, therefore, appears to be the single criterion for defining this group of children. In our opinion, the school system has used a highly misleading and behaviorist method to handle a complex and sensitive social situation. It is but another example of a behaviorist approach failing to grasp a phenomenological reality.

The reception class has "adjustment" (tilpasning) as its stated purpose. School teachers, however, frequently speak of "integration" as the goal to be accomplished. A recent report by two Pakistani researchers, Najma Siddiqi and Farooq-i-Azam, quotes a reception class teacher as saying: "The immigrants must learn to live the way we do. They must be like Danes." Another teacher is quoted: "The immigrants don't come out of their isolation. They remain in ghettos, wear funny clothes, and they look different. In fact, they are different and that is the whole problem."[6]

The report by Najma Siddiqi and Farooq-i-Azam makes an excellent case for autonomy and identity against the strict, integrationist attitude. The teachers in the schools' reception

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classes should be - of all people - those who are most responsive to the children's ethnic identity.

A second aspect of the Danish school system's program for immigrant children involves the children's own native languages. The municipalities which have the largest immigrant worker populations provide instruction in the native languages for the children. Classes meet after the regular school hours, sometimes on Saturdays. The parents and the children are generally pleased by the opportunity to meet and talk in their own languages. We know of several Pakistani children whose school and work burden becomes quite heavy. Not only do these children attend regular Danish school, schooling in their native language Urdu, but they also attend Koran-reading classes in the afternoons. The children have many responsibilities in their homes, caring for the younger children, shopping for their parents and often serving as interpreters for them.

Researchers are generally agreed that the younger children of immigrant workers have the easiest time learning Danish. Since very few immigrant workers' pre-school-age children are enrolled in day-care institutions, they first enter a Danish institution when they begin school. The reception class program seems to be effective at this stage of the child's experience. Sometimes one suspects that this ideal seven-year-old child becomes the soiological norm for integrationist models. Surely the child learns Danish, but the "problem" is not solved, nor is the child fully "adjusted" to the Danish society by virtue of his or her language skill.

Danish municipal authorities appear convinced that large "concentrations" of immigrant workers decrease the effectiveness of "adjustment" to Danish society. Ten percent of the municipal population is considered the maximum for the immigrant workers' proportion of the whole.[7] The tendency towards "ghetto formation" is vigorously opposed by the Kommunes - and no doubt by the Danish citizens in these Kommunes. "The foreign workers should be spread out (if not kicked out)" is unquestionably the typical opinion of the Danish public. Yet the foreign workers obviously prefer to gather in their ethnic

communities where they can maintain their social and cultural contacts. With all the fear of ghetto-like behavior, there is only one school with a foreign worker population between 10% and 20%. In our opinion, such statistics offer no threat of a "ghetto". Indeed, our contact with the immigrant workers' milieux suggests that the positive qualities found in ethnic communities far outnumber the benefits from a tough integrationist policy. Unfortunately the voice of the immigrant worker seldom reaches the ears of the civil officials. They don't understand his language, even when he talks Danish. The urban official is something like the barman in John Berger's parable quoted at the opening of this essay.

Authors' background

Finn Korzen, an anthropologist, has concentrated on immigrant workers' milieux in Denmark. He has also done field work in Konya Province, Turkey. More recently, Finn Korzen has produced several programs for Danmarks Radio.

Jonathan Schwartz, a sociologist from the United States, has lived in Denmark since 1970 and has concentrated on foreign workers' problems. Schwartz is engaged in an action research project in Vognmandsmarken, a guest workers' ghetto in Copenhagen.

Notes and Literature

1. John Rex and Robert Moore: Race, Community, and Conflict (Institute of Race Relations, London, 1967) subject the notion of "host society" to sociological criticism. They argue that sociologists ought to discover "what kinds of primary community immigrants form in order to obtain some sort of social and cultural bearings in the new society and also what relationships exist between their community structure as a whole and the complex system of class conflict and status which we refer to as "the host society"." (p.14). Rex and Moore contend that the concept "host society", if meant as a homogeneous entity, distorts social

reality.

2. Cf. J. Asplund: "Integrationskategorin: en borgerlig tankeform", in Udkast (København, 1974) for a general critique of "integration" in sociological and psychological theory.

3. For a comprehensive, empirical study of guest-workers' housing in Denmark, see Jesper Bruus Pedersen et al.: Fremmedarbejdernes boligforhold i Danmark, 1975 (København, 1976). Søren Klebak and Christian Horst have conducted extensive studies in the area of social medicine and immigrant labor in Denmark. Their most recent work: Fremmedarbejderbørn/Danske Børn: Lige Vilkår? (København, 1978).

4. Christian Horst and Jonathan Schwartz: Fremmedarbejdere på arbejdsplads: et tabu emne?", in Information, 13.3.1978.

5. See an excellent article by Teodor Shanin, "The Peasants are Coming" in Race and Class, XIX, Winter 1978. Shanin underlines the peasant background of the immigrant workers and its importance in their social organization and action in Western European cities.

6. Najma Siddiqi and Farooq-i-Azam, The Alien (Odense, 1977), p. 59.

7. One of the few Municipalities in Denmark which has issued a report on the immigrant worker population: Rapport om Torslunde-Ishøj Kommunes Indvandrere, 1975. p. 10.

The situation of foreign workers in Sweden

Jorma Kuusela and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, Helsinki

"It is generally acknowledged that immigration to Sweden is of a more permanent character than is the case with many other European countries, and that this type of immigration has had long-range beneficial demographic and economic effects to Sweden. Perhaps no other European immigration country has undertaken so massive efforts in order to promote social equality between immigrants and the native population", says Jonas Widgren (1978, 2-3).

"Immigration to Sweden is by and large a post-war phenomenon. There were three major factors contributing to the steep rise in immigration at the end of World War II. One was of a foreign political nature. Sweden had not been hit by the war, and the Government felt a moral obligation to open the borders for refugees and displaced persons from neighbouring countries, all involved in armed conflicts or occupied by foreign powers. The total number of foreigners residing in Sweden rose from some 24 000 in 1939 to 185 000 in 1944. The other contributing factor was of a demographic nature. The trend in fertility rates during the 1930's had fallen to a level insufficient for full reproduction of the population. The third contributing factor was of an economic nature. Industry was lacking labour, in spite of the immigration surplus resulting from the inflow of refugees, a steep increase in female employment, an annual decline in agriculture with some 2 per cent and a subsequent high rate of urbanization. Since 1954, when the agreement on a Common Nordic Labour Market was concluded, manpower (=personpower, our remark) movements within the Nordic area of citizens of the five Nordic countries has been completely free, and nearly one milliom persons have moved from one Nordic country to another. In 1947 Swedish manpower (=personpower, our remark) authorities also started to recruit labour in non-Nordic countries." (Widgren 1978, 4-5).

Now as much as one million of the Swedish population of somewhat more than eight million consists of immigrants and their offspring (Widgren 1978, 20). Of them 424.445 had foreign nationality in the end of 1977, with 108 different nationalities represented. The ten largest groups account for 84.7 per cent of all foreign citizens:

Table 1

Foreign citizens in Sweden per 31.12.1977

Country of nationality	Number	% of all foreign citizens in Sweden
Finland	188 972	44.5
Yugoslavia	40 796	9.6
Denmark	34 268	8.1
Norway	27 356	6.4
Greece	18 361	4.3
Germany (BRD)	16 147	3.8
Turkey	13 372	3.2
Poland	8 609	2.0
Great Britain	8 347	2.0
USA	6 102	1.4

Some of the immigrant groups have much less education than the average Swedes, while some groups are better educated:

Table 2

The education of foreigners in Sweden (1970-72)

Group of nationality	Men Educational category			Women Educational category		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
Finns	77.6	21.2	1.2	73.4	23.0	3.3
Turks+ greeks +yugoslavs	65.5	31.6	2.9	76.4	23.0	2.8
Norwegians + danes	40.3	43.1	16.7	52.6	33.2	14.2
Other immigrants	27.4	47.0	25.6	43.5	39.0	17.6
Total population	59.6	32.6	7.9	58.6	31.9	9.5

1 = less than gymnasium
2 = gymnasium
3 = more than gymnasium

The objectives of Swedish immigration and minority policy, submitted to the Parliament in 1975, set out from the threefold principles of <u>equality</u>, <u>freedom of choice</u> and <u>partnership</u>. The goal of equality "should imply continued efforts on behalf

of the Swedish society to assure the immigrants of the same social standard and opportunities, and the same rights and duties, as the rest of the population. It also implies that all ethnic groups in the country must be given the same possibilities of developing their native languages and of indulging in cultural activities. Immigration policy should therefore be aimed at providing members of linguistic minorities factual possibilities of developing a linguistic and cultural identity of their own, in a spirit of mutual interest involving the whole of Swedish society.

The goal freedom of choice implies that immigrants must be assured a genuine choice (whereby the State stands neutral) between retaining and developing their original cultural identity and assuming a Swedish cultural identity. Measures for the preservation of links with the culture of the country of origin also make it easier for immigrants and their children to choose between staying in Sweden and being re-integrated in their country of origin.

The goal of partnership, finally, implies that a wide-ranging and mutual co-operation should be established between immigrant groups and the majority population. This objective, thus, includes mutual tolerance and solidarity between immigrants and the native population, as well as greater opportunities for immigrants to influence decisions concerning their own situation" (Widgren 1978, 17)

Since 1st of July, 1973, all immigrants in the labour force, who do not know Swedish, are entitled to 240 hours of tuition in Swedish as a foreign language during paid working hours. Approximately 60 per cent of the employed foreigners are entitled to this tuition, but less than 30 % have actually participated, even if trade unions found in a survey that 90 per cent of those 12 000 immigrants who participated in the survey wanted to get the tuition in Swedish.

Children

Table 3 shows the number of foreign children in Sweden per 1.1.1978

Table 3

Age	-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	13-15	16-17	S
Number	36.590	27.534	25.468	23.512	19.335	10.993	143.432

The comprehensive school in Sweden had 1.033.800 pupils in 1977/78. 8.5 per cent of them, 88.300 pupils, were immigrants, according to the school statistics during the 11th week in 1978. The gymnasium had 185.500 pupils, and 5.5 percent, 10.100 were immigrants. 39 per cent of the immigrant children in comprehensive school (34 850) had Finnish as their mother tongue, while less than 20 per cent used mostly Swedish at home. In gymnasium 3.400 (30 per cent) of the immigrant pupils spoke Finnish at home, while some 28 per cent spoke Swedish.

According to the teachers' estimations 38.700 immigrant pupils in comprehensive school needed some kind of auxiliary tuition, i.e. 44 per cent. 27.800 participated in auxiliary instruction either in the Swedish language, or in other subjects through the medium of Swedish. 14.100 pupils had auxiliary instruction in other subjects through the medium of their mother tongue, and 35.900 pupils had mother tongue instruction. There were some 4000 pupils who wanted to have mother tongue instruction but who didn't get it, although it is obligatory for the municipalities to organize such instruction if the children or their parents want to have it.

In gymnasium 1.600 pupils were estimated to need some kind of auxiliary instruction in Swedish, and 870 got it. 660 were estimated to need auxiliary instruction through the medium of their mother tongue, while 300 got it. 990 pupils participated in the mother tongue instruction. Mother tongue instruction is given in Sweden in more than 50 languages.

There are several different possibilities of organizing the instruction of immigrant children in comprehensive school.

-the instruction can primarily be given through the medium of Swedish, in a Swedish-speaking class, with or without different types of auxiliary instruction (which can take place either in class, for all pupils, for instance if the class is a preparatory class with only immigrant pupils, often from different nationalities, or so that the immigrant pupils are pulled out for auxiliary instruction, which is often the case when they are mixed in the same classes with Swedish pupils), with or without a companion teacher (either Swedish-speaking, or a native speaker of the childs mother tongue)

-the instruction can take place in classes with two teachers, with both Swedish pupils and immigrant pupils from one nationality only. The pupils are taught separately, each group in its mother tongue, for part of the time, while they are taught together, either bilingually, or, mostly, in Swedish, for the rest of the time.

-the instruction can primarily be given in the native tongue of the pupils, with a Swedish-as-a-second-language component. This is the type of instruction that the immigrants themselves want to have. The central organizations of the associations for the large immigrant groups (Finns, Yugoslavs, Greeks) and for instance the Finnish Teachers' Association in Sweden all agree, that they would like to have the mother tongue to be the medium of instruction throughout the comprehensive school. The fight for this right is one of the big issues in Swedish immigrations politics right now (see Skutnabb-Kangas in this volume).

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SITUATION OF FOREIGN WORKERS IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY *

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1. Some data on the immigration of foreign workers to Germany

Within the last one hundred years three waves of migration to Germany can be registered. The first wave started in 1871 with the growing industrialization of Germany and reached its climax shortly before World War I.

Mainly Poles, later, however, Italians as well as workers of different nationalities from the eastern and south-eastern parts of Europe also immigrated to Germany to escape the poverty of the rural areas. Many of them were working in Prussia, in the rural area east of the Elbe. Since the turn of the century a rapidly growing number of foreigners was employed in the mines and in the industry of Rheinland and Ruhrgebiet. According to Freudendorff (1972: 23) ca. 1.200 000 foreign workers were employed in Germany in 1914. [1]

The second wave of migration (and of deportations) was initiated by a general economic boom in Germany after Hitler's seizure of power. International agreements concerning the immigration of workers were made with several countries. Up to 1944, the number of immigrated and deported workers amounted to 5 million. These were Poles, Russians, Czechoslovakians, Dutch, Belgians, Italians, and French.

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* This paper deals only with the situation of first generation migrants; for the second generation cf. the contribution of Wilfried Stölting.
We want to thank Carolyn Swetland for helping us to improve the first draft.

1 One must add a large number of workers of Polish nationality with Prussian citizenship who migrated from the east-Prussian provinces to Western germany. Cf. Glück 1977.

Immediately after World War II there was only a small number of foreigners living in Western Germany. [2] However, by 1955 the considerable unemployment after the war had decreased by nearly 6 % - together with a strong increase of available jobs - the third wave of migration started. The growing requirements of labour caused the German economy to look for unemployed workers from foreign countries. Furthermore, the rapid growth of German production attracted workers from countries whose economic situation had not yet recovered. Italy was the first country which sought an agreement for the recruiting and employment of its nationals. Such an agreement was made in 1955.

From 1955 to 1960 the rate of unemployment in Germany dropped to about 1 % and the number of vacant jobs reached nearly 1 million. By 1960 there were almost 300 000 "Gastarbeiter" ("guest workers" as they are called in Germany), nearly half of them Italians.

The rapidly growing number of migrant workers from other countries led to further bi-lateral agreements with Spain and Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965), and finally Jugoslavia (1968). Germany established recruitment agencies (so-called Deutsche Kommission/ Verbindungsstelle) in these countries whose job was to control selection and to organize transfer of people who were interested in jobs abroad.

In 1965, according to the EEC-agreement, the Italians were assured free movement of labour within the European Economic Community.

Table 1 shows the temporal development of the employment of foreign labour from the eight countries with which Germany has bi-lateral agreements (Anwerbeländer).

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2 The following passage bases on Mehrländer 1974: 11-15.

TABLE 1 Foreign workers in Germany

date	foreigners employed		from								
	total	in %*	Turkey	Yugoslavia	Italy	Greece	Spain	Portugal	Morocco	Tunisia	other countries
31.7.55	79 600	0.4	.	2 100	7 500	600	500	.	.	.	68 900
31.7.57	108 200	0.6	.	2 800	19 100	1 800	1 000	.	.	.	83 500
31.7.59	166 800	0.8	.	7 300	48 800	4 100	2 200	.	.	.	104 400
30.9.61	548 900	2.5	.	.	224 600	52 300	61 800	.	1 100	400	208 700
30.9.63	828 700	3.7	33 000	.	287 000	116 900	119 600	.	4 800	600	266 800
30.9.65	1 216 800	5.7	132 800	64 000	372 300	187 200	182 800	14 000	9 000	500	254 200
30.9.66	1 313 500	6.1	161 200	96 600	391 300	194 600	178 200	21 100	8 200	700	261 600
30.9.67	991 300	4.7	131 300	95 700	266 800	140 300	118 000	17 800	5 800	800	214 800
30.9.68	1 089 900	5.2	153 000	119000	304 000	145 000	116 000	20 000	6 000	900	226 000
30.9.69	1 501 400	7.0	244 300	265 000	349 000	191 200	143 100	29 500	.	.	279 300
30.9.70	1 949 000	9.1	353 900	423 300	381 800	242 200	171 700	44 800	9 200	6 200	315 900
30.9.71	2 240 800	10.3	453 100	478 300	408 000	268 600	186 600	58 400	12 000	10 200	365 600
30.9.72	2 352 400	10.8	511 100	475 000	426 400	270 100	184 200	66 000	15 000	11 000	393 600
30.9.73	2 595 000	11.9	605 000	535 000	450 000	250 000	190 000	85 000	.	.	480 000
30.9.74	2 286 600	10.9	606 800	466 700	331 500	229 200	149 700	78 500	16 900	.	407 300
30.9.75	2 038 800	10.1	543 300	415 900	292 400	196 200	124 500	68 300	16 200	.	382 000
30.9.76	1 920 900	9.5	521 000	387 200	279 100	173 100	107 600	62 300	15 400	.	375 200
31.3.77	1 877 100	9.5	514 700	375 200	275 400	164 000	101 500	60 000	.	.	386 300

* Percentage of foreign workers in relation to the total number of persons employed (foreigners' quota).

Source: Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Sozialordnung.

Due to the rapid economic development, the number of foreign workers quadrupled to 1.2 million between 1960 and 1965.[3] As shown in Table 1, the continuous increase in the employment of foreign workers holds on up to 1966. Due to the recession in 1966/67, the number of foreign workers declined to less than 1 million. In other words, during the recession about 30% of the migrants had to return to their home countries. The foreign labour quota in Germany fell down from 6% to less than 5%.

From 1968 on, the number of immigrants again rose continuously. The maximum quota, with about 2.6 million foreign workers and a foreign labour force of 11.9% was reached in 1973. The start of the world-wide economic crisis (the so-called energy-crisis) led to a sudden change in this tendency. In November 1973, the German Government decided to stop recruiting activities in these bilateral agreement countries and closed the recruitment agencies there. From then on, the total number of foreign workers declined continuously.

It dipped below the 2 million mark by the end of 1975 and by the end of 1976 stood at the lowest figure recorded since 1970. In 1977, the decline continued though significantly slowed down.

Of the countries mentioned above, the five main countries of origin are Turkey, Yugoslavia, Italy, Greece, and Spain. More than three quarters of all foreign workers in Germany come from these countries. Table 2 illustrates the changing proportions of foreigners from these countries (1960 - 1977).

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3 One fact which influenced immigration from the countries mentioned above is that the stream of foreign workers from the German Democratic Republic which had covered the need for labour to a certain degree, was stopped in 1961 by the closing of the frontier between the two Germanies.

TABLE 2 Percentage of workers from the five main countries of origin compared to the total number of foreign workers in the Federal Republic 196o - 1977

Year	country of origin					
	Turkey	Yugoslavia	Italy	Greece	Spain	total *
196o	o.9	3.2	43.5	4.7	3.4	55.6
1965	1o.9	5.3	3o.6	15.4	15.o	77.2
197o	18.1	21.7	19.6	12.4	8.8	8o.6
1975	26.6	2o.4	14.3	9.6	6.1	77.o
1976	27.1	2o.1	14.5	9.o	5.6	76.3
1977	27.4	2o.o	14.7	8.7	5.4	76.2

* Total percentage of workers from these five countries in relation to total number of foreign workers.

Source: Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Sozialordnung

Up to 197o, the Italians formed the largest national group. They were thereafter replaced by the Yugoslavs who in 197o for the first time had a higher proportion than the Italians.

An even stronger increase can be seen for the Turks, who in 1972 were the numerically largest national group. In the years that followed, the Turks reached a proportion higher than 25 % and are today the group least affected by the recent reduction of foreign labour.

The proportion of women in the foreign labour force has been steadily rising. While in 196o about every seventh foreign worker was female, at the present time every third foreign worker is a woman.

Since the first years of employment of foreign labour, the structure of the foreign population in Germany has been changing considerably. The single or "single-living" (ledigge-hend) foreign worker has been more and more replaced by the immigrant

family. At present, the total number of foreigners in Germany amounts to almost 4 million, of which 1.2 million are women and almost 1 million children under 16 years. This figure corresponds to a foreigners' quota of 6 % in relation to the total population of Germany. In spite of the absolute reduction of the proportion of foreigners during the last years, the proportion of children and adolescents has been increasing relatively as well as absolutely. [4]

The geographic distribution of foreign workers shows a large concentration in the industrial centres of the Federal Republic. [5] 6o % of all foreigners live in ten industrial regions. Figure 1 shows a very high proportion of foreigners as compared to the total number of employees (18 - 24 %) within the Frankfurt, Stuttgart, and München areas, a high proportion (12 - 17 %) within certain western parts of Germany as well as large parts of southwestern Germany (especially Baden-Württemberg).
At present, two thirds of migrant workers have resided for six years or more in Germany, while one quarter for more than ten years. As could be expected by the above presentation of the quantitative development, the average duration of residence is significantly higher for the "early immigrated nationalities", i.e. Greeks, Spaniards, Italians, and Yugoslavs, than for the later arrivals, the Turks.

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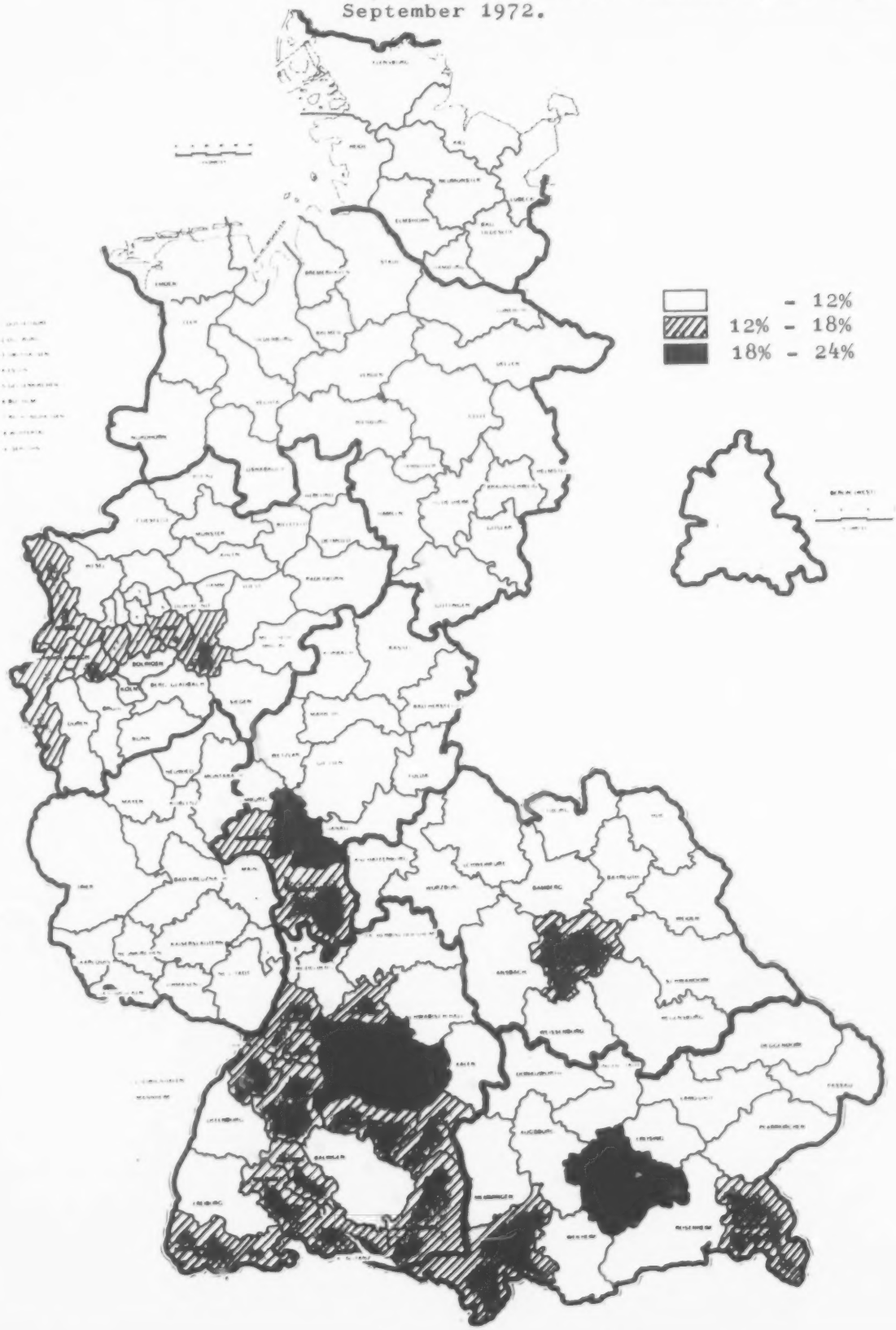
4 In the Federal Republic of Germany about 1oo ooo foreign children of the second and third generation are born per year, and about 5oo ooo foreign adolescents per year reach the acquired age for entering apprenticeship or working life - most of them without having completed school (ohne Hauptschulabschluss).

5 Figure 1 shows the situation in 1972 and therefore is based on slightly higher numbers, but the regional distribution at present seems to be sufficiently illustrated by it.

FIGURE 1

Proportion of foreign workers in relation to the total number of employees by "Arbeitsamtsbezirken" September 1972.



2. Immigration policy

The German immigration policy is based on a dual assumption. On the one hand, the exploitation of foreign labour by the German economy, an economic necessity in the past, will continue to be so in the future, though to a smaller extent. On the other hand, the costs of foreign labour employment (infrastructure, old age pensions, unemployment benefits, child allowances) are to be kept as low as possible.

This dual assumption was clearly expressed in the discussion concerning the so-called "rotation model" of foreign labour employment[6], favoured by many politicians during the years before the recruitment stop, though this model was never officially adopted as governmental policy. The rotation model has of course become obsolete by the stop of foreign labour recruitment in 1973, as foreign workers no longer immigrate to Germany, except members of the EC. Most of the foreign workers who had come to the Federal Republic already before 1973, have been staying here and have called their family members to Germany. The need for foreign labour, caused for example by the return of foreign workers of the first generation to their home countries, is covered more than enough by the second generation migrants (ca. 5o ooo per year leaving school).

In spite of this fact, it was stated by the German Government in April, 1977, as a matter of principle that the Federal Republic of Germany is not an immigration country.[7] This policy leads to the consideration of foreign workers - including those of the first generation who have resided and worked in Germany for many years, those of the second generation, and also including the new third generation - as "temporary stay" workers. This policy thus allows the German

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6 Recruiting, employment, return and replacement by newly recruited foreign workers within a few years period.

7 cf. Bundesminister für Arbeit und Sozialordnung, Drucksache IIa-24 2oo/22.

government to deny its social responsibility for this population group.

3. Legal residence status

The status of foreign workers in Germany is regulated by the Foreigners' Act of 1965 (Ausländergesetz) as well as by the employment laws (Arbeitsförderungsgesetz and Arbeitserlaubnisverordnung). Accordingly, migrant workers (except Italians [8]) need (a) a residence permit (Aufenthaltserlaubnis) and (b) a work permit (Arbeitserlaubnis).

Residence permit. The Foreigners' Act of 1965 distinguishes three legal residence categories: the limited residence permit (befristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis), the unlimited residence permit (unbefristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis), and the right of residence (Aufenthaltsberechtigung). During the first three years of residence the permit is given for only one year at a time; after that, it is still limited, the time varying from two to several years. As a rule, the immigrant workers in Germany cannot get beyond the limited residence permit; a legal claim to the unlimited residence permit and the right of residence does not exist. [9] Naturalization is almost impossible.

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8 Because of the free movement of labour Italians as members of the EC do not need a work permit and can claim for a residence card (Aufenthaltsausweis) of the EC.

9 The right of residence is valid without temporary or local constraints, it cannot be in any way conditioned and it protects against expulsion. In contrary to the declared aim of a "liberal and open-minded migration policy of the German Government" all authorities dealing with the affairs of foreign workers in Germany are advised that they should give the right of residence, even after an eight years' stay, only in especially substantiated individual instances (for example to political persecutees having a right of sanctuary). Thus, only 7 ooo foreigners - less than 1 % of the total of foreigners being concerned - received the right of residence during the last years. It can be taken for granted that foreign workers cannot be found under those people who got the right of residence (cf. Franz 1972: 41-42).

The Foreigners' Act of 1965 is a direct limitation of human rights. The prohibition since 1975 to settle within areas with a high proportion of foreign workers (Zuzugssperre) can be mentioned as one example for the restriction of the right of freedom of movement.

Work permit. Regarding the work permit two different groups of foreign workers are distinguished at present: 1) Foreigners having worked more than five years in Germany without interruption - they are generally given the special work permit (besondere Arbeitserlaubnis). 2) Foreigners having worked less than five years in Germany - they are given the general work permit (allgemeine Arbeitserlaubnis). The general work permit as a rule is given restricted to a specific employment in a specific firm and is limited to one year. In addition, the renewal of the general work permit is given only if the German labour market needs additional labour force.

As can be seen in the development after 1973, the work permit represents a very efficient instrument of control of foreign labour, as its grant is strictly oriented to the conjunctural situation and Germany's labour force needs. For example, during the last few years, in many cases it has been given limited to an even shorter period (e.g. three months). Residence and work permit are tied to each other. If, for example the work permit is not renewed, the residence permit can be refused.

Family reuniting. The reunion of the family includes only spouse and children. After three years of separation, the family members can rejoin the immigrant in Germany if secure employment and so-called "adequate" living accomodations can be proved. After five years of residence in Germany, the spouse and children of migrant workers are entitled to a so-called "derived work permit" (abgeleitete Arbeitserlaubnis), but only if they came to the FRG before 3o. 11. 1974 (spouses) and 31. 12. 1976 (children).

Representation of migrants. Immigrant workers in the Federal Republic of Germany have nearly no possibility of political participation. In a few municipalities, advisory boards of migrants (Ausländerbeiräte) have come into existence, however, their function is only consultative. Foreigners are not entitled to vote in municipal elections.

Changes in Regulations of the Law. According to the decision of the Bundesrat in June 1978, the following changes in Regulations of the law regarding foreigners (Verwaltungsvorschrift) will become effective in a few months: Migrant workers can be granted the unlimited residence permit after five years and the right of residence after eight years if they are able to show that certain preconditions have been fulfilled. One of these preconditions is the proof of "adequate" living accomodation in Germany, another is a "sufficient" knowledge of German. It is, however, nowhere specified what "sufficient" knowledge might mean, nor how this might be adequately verified. A second planned modification consists in the cancelling of the legal claim spouses have to the derived work permission (abgeleitete Arbeitserlaubnis).

Conclusion. As F. Franz, Germany's leading authority on juridical questions concerning foreigners, points out: The German body of law regarding aliens (Ausländergesetz) places the foreigners living in Germany, with the exception of those privileged by being members of the EC or by having the right of sanctuary, not under the protection of legal procedures (Rechtsordnung) but under the control of police regulations as if they all represented a danger for public security and order.[1o] All officials concerned with foreigners, including the lowest alien police officer at the bottom of the rung, are therefore given the far-reaching authority of "full power" (Blankovollmachten) to take decisions (in theory appealable, but due to the complication of time limitations, language, and general non-comprehension, in reality rarely attainable).

1o cf. F.Franz 1972: 39-40

Such decisions as admission, conditions of residence, and expulsion can be taken at will. Reasons for expulsion can be such trifling ones as for example: violation of the period of work contract (Arbeitsplatzbindung), motoring offense, concubinage of a foreigner with a German woman.

Within the last years numerous efforts have been made to fundamentally change this body of law which is extremely hostile to foreigners [11], but all have failed because of the resistence of the government.

4. Language tuition for immigrants

Foreign workers in Germany have only limited possibilities for tuition in German and they do not have any legal claim to free language tuition. This fact is illustrated by the numbers of foreign workers having attended a language course which sociological studies refer to: According to the Bundesanstalt für Arbeit (1973: 31) 6 % of foreign workers state that they have attained their competence in German by adult education classes; according to Mehrländer (1974: 1o3) 1o % have ever attended a language course.

Most language courses are offered by the local Volkshochschulen. However, these courses do not specifically appeal to foreign workers but generally impart "German as a foreign language" and often aim at the acquisition of the very demanding certificate "German as a foreign language".

The development of a "threshold level for migrant workers" by the Pädagogische Arbeitsstelle des Deutschen Volkshochschulverbands is in preparation. The Volkshochschul-courses take place in leisure time and the immigrants have to pay for them.

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11 For example the "Alternativentwurf 197o", given as a petition to the Bundestag and supported by the signature of many people, or the "Düsseldorfer Reformprogramm zum Ausländerrecht", brought in by the Initiativkreis für die Reform des Ausländerrechts beim Diakonischen Werk der Evangelischen Kirche im Rheinland.

In 1974, a semi-governmental institution came into existence: the "Sprachverband Deutsch für auslandische Arbeitnehmer". Its task is the coordination and the promotion of language courses especially for migrant workers. Its budget, however, is very restricted: In 1977, special courses for only 1o ooo immigrants (that corresponds to ca. o.6 % of foreign workers) were financed by state grants.

Though a number of training programs in the field of "German as a foreign language" had been produced during the last years and a lot of money was spent by the government for the production of audio-visual materials (films, etc.), the existing material is not or only conditionally suitable for the teaching of foreign workers. [12] There is no special teachers' training in the field of German as a foreign language/ German for immigrants; no university offers a respective curriculum. [13] Thus, the language courses are conducted by social workers, students, teachers, housewifes, etc. - by people who as a rule have not undergone training directly adapted to the teaching of migrants. The only specialized training courses (consisting in two weeks of instruction) are held at the Goethe-Institut, München.

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12 Except one recently published book which, however, only addresses Turks:Viktor Augustin, Klaus Liebe-Harkort and Theo Scherling: Feridun. Ein Lesebuch und Sprachprogramm nicht nur für Türken. München 1977.

13 A curriculum "German as a foreign language" as a preparation to language courses with foreign children was recently established at the universities Oldenburg and Bremen.

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Teaching German to Immigrant Children

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1. Immigrant children in the FRG school system

Legal basis of children's immigration: Foreign workers of non-EC countries must have been employed for at least one year, normally three years, before being permitted to bring their spouse and children. Another prerequisite is sufficient housing space according to German standards. This has led to many cases of non-declared children in the FRG.

Numerical development of immigration: Between 1970 and 1975 the number of foreign children under 16 years of age doubled to about 900.000 = 20% of the total foreign population. National distribution in 1975: Turks 300.000, Italians 140.000, Greeks and Yugoslavs 100.000 each, Spaniards 50.000, Portuguese 25.000. The development of children's immigration since 1970 shows higher rates of increase than adults immigration. Age distribution in 1977: pre-school (0-5 years) 402.000, obligatory school (6-14) 465.000, transition to working status (15-18) 118.000.

Reasons for this development: The prolongation of sojourn in the FRG leads to the importation of family members;the employment of women (for poorly paid jobs) has increased; the discriminatory law of children's allowances since 1975 has resulted in higher immigration rates of children;the high birth rate of foreign children in the FRG: 20% of all children born in the FRG are from foreign parents.

Perspective: Over 1 million children, still in non-EC countries, are potential immigrants to the FRG. For the next 10 years about 1 million of FRG-born foreigners are to be expected. With regard to sociological and educational problems the accent will shift from children born abroad to FRG-born children.

Pre-school accomodation: Whereas 50% of the German children have found a place in cribs and kindergartens, the percentage of foreign children is about 25-30%. Consequences: The possibility of bilingual pre-school education is being neglected, small children are left to themselves, older brothers and sisters are charged with supervision, women are

bound to the home and denied contacts with the German population.

Foreign school-children: In the last 10 years the number of foreign children in German schools has multiplied by ten; in the school year of 1975/76 there were about 400.000 pupils (1/3 Turks, 20% Italians, 15% Greeks, 10% Yugoslavs, 10% Spaniards and Portuguese). It is estimated that more than 20% of the foreign children do not attend school. Foreign children are concentrated in the Grundschule and the Hauptschule, chances of entering higher education are small. An average of ca. 60% of the foreign school-children do not get the final certificate of the Hauptschule which is required for admission to vocational training. The relation of German to foreign children in the Grundschulen of Nordrhein-Westfalen changed from 44:1 in 1969 to 16:1 in 1974, in the Hauptschulen from 70:1 to 19:1. - The impact of the children now in pre-school age on the German school system is to be reckoned with;here lie the main reasons for the development of new schooling models by the German authorities.

Forms of instruction: There are basically 2 models that include the vast majority of foreign children.

(1) Preparatory classes on a national basis, after 1-2 years transfer to regular German classes. Additional German language instruction for children in German classes, facultative additional instruction in the mother tongue (language, geography, history) in the afternoon - up to 6 hours per week. The integrative intention of this model has deviated: Preparatory classes tend to become separative national schools of low quality;the additional mother-tongue instruction uncritically imports programs from the countries of origin and is unconnected with the program in German classes; the additional German language instruction has been reduced in the last years. Programs of voluntary help for children in German classes on a caritative basis (housewives, older pupils, students) - 'Hausaufgabenhilfe' - have been initiated to stop the holes of the school system.

(2) National classes with the teaching of the mother-tongue as the language of instruction on the level of the Grundschule and the Hauptschule (in Bavaria since 1973, in Nordrhein-Westfalen since 1976), facultative transfer to German classes (in Nordrhein-Westfalen obligatory after the 6th form). School authorities favour this model in accordance with the non-integrative policy since 1973 (Anwerbestop for workers) but have not supplied the material basis for the much intended 'bilingual schooling' (teachers' training, teaching materials, pedagogics).- There are some side-lines to these models: 'International classes', i.e. preparatory German language classes on a multinational basis but without German children, may proceed the regular German classes (in Baden-Württemberg); in West-Berlin and now also in some parts of the Ruhr district, when the percentage of foreigners in the regular classes of the Grundschule and the Hauptschule is too high, 'Special classes' only for foreigners are formed, with German as the only language of instruction. Attendance of the additional mother-tongue instruction is not encouraged.

2. On how to promote bilingualism

In 1973, at a time when the integrative-assimilative concept of schooling was still flourishing, the first proposal for bilingual schooling was advanced (Henk/Stölting), aimed at coordinating the instruction of German and the home language and at introducing both languages into the teaching of subject matters in the national preparatory classes. This was fundamentally a model of transfer bilingualism.

In 1974, there appeared a more detailed formulation of the reasons for establishing bilingual schooling (Stölting 1974): political reasoning - possibility of a forced return to the country of origin (certificates must be valid in both countries); overcoming the ideology of a national state (one people-one language);against cultural suppression, for cultural autonomy.

reasoning pertaining to socialization - need to recognize the already acquired language of the child, to avoid an interruption in the development of personal and national identity.
linguistic reasoning - need of a contrastive approach in language teaching, importance of bilingual skills (translation etc.).
The aim was to set up bilingual schools with a coordinated instruction of both languages and with an instruction of subject matters through the medium of German and the mother-tongue. The question of how important it is to reach a certain level of competence in the mother-tongue before starting on and learning through a second language was not considered. Two main reasons may be given: the existence of a federal law that German is the Amtssprache in the German school, from which it is derived that its percentage must not drop below fifty;the fact that the argument for the fundamental importance of the mother-tongue is linked up in German linguistic tradition with the reactionary 'world-view' hypothesis.

From 1974-76 important changes in the system of schooling foreign children were brought about by the authorities (failure of the integrative model, onslaught of FRG-born children, separative feeling of the German public, shortening of financial means): A separative schooling under the flag of 'bilingual schooling' serves these intentions and takes the burden of integration from the German children and teachers. The discussion in groups of parents, teachers and scientists brought two camps into existence: (1) those advocating separative schooling;here reactionary and leftist forces met, led by different motives, and (2) those advocating integrative schooling - German trade unions, German Communist Party, many good-willed German teachers. Under the necessity of securing a modern and qualified instruction for the foreign children the integrative and ultimately assimilationist position has survived and gained ground.

In my opinion under the given conditions of power in the FRG scientists advocating a bilingual and bicultural schooling of the foreign children have the task of

- publicly stating the deficiencies of the existing models especially in contrast to what could be done, the underlying motives of the authorities, their disregard of the parents wishes and the way in which scientific findings are being distorted in order to justify the decisions of the authorities,
- continuing to develop central parts of a bilingual schooling on the basis of international experience and own teaching experiments where it is made possible by local authorities, in order to break up the tie between separative instruction and low quality of instruction and finally to make possible a bilingual schooling without isolating foreign from German children (in Lower Saxony there is a discussion now about two parallel classes each one consisting of German and foreign pupils where for certain subject matters Germans and foreigners can be taught apart and in their own language, thus forming one only-German and one only-foreign class),
- promoting the acquisition of both languages within all existing imposed schooling models. Language teaching for foreign children is still on a rather unscientific level everywhere. What a child will learn eventually, depends not only from the schooling model but also, to a large extent, from the concrete teaching process. That means taking part in the preparation of teaching materials, in the training of teachers and in the composition of manuals.

The investigation of the language problems of Yugoslav school children in Essen (1973-1975) in which I took part showed the existence of strong assimilationist trends within this national group. As a consequence in Oldenburg we concentrate our work on the processes of learning German and the mother tongue with those children that are fairly advanced on the way of linguistic assimilation to German. We intend to devise German language programs which at the same time foster the competence in the mother-tongue.

3. German language lessons for Turkish children

At the University of Oldenburg a model experiment of integrated teachers' training is performed: Students study in inter-disciplinary 'projects' where they prepare for six weeks of teaching practice in school after the end of semester. Before passing the state examination they have to take part in two teaching practices of this kind plus an additional half-year in school. Oldenburg is the only place in Lower Saxony and one of the few in the FRG where there is an official curriculum for German as a foreign language. The preparation and the teaching practice I am going to report about took place in the framework of the project 'National and class culture in bourgeois societies: Literature, language and foreign language teaching' for students of English and of German as a foreign language. The latter were offered courses in Turkish language, culture conflict, bilingual schooling and teaching German as a foreign language. Community activities completed the programme: initiating a Turkish workers' cultur organization, a parents' committee, a Turkish game afternoon. Teachers, students and university teachers cooperated in drawing up the lessons.

As the main characteristics of teaching German to foreign children resident in the FRG we established (in contrast to e.g. the teaching of English to German children):

- The foreign children already live in the country of the target language and either have acquired some German before starting school or are acquiring it outside school while attending language instruction,
- they develop under the difficult conditions of one-sided diglossia, i.e. their first-language development is disturbed,
- their educational and professional prospects are linked immediately with their progress in learning German,
- their position with respect to identification with one of the culturally conflicting language groups may be influenced by their acquisition of German.

Hence a pedagogy of teaching German to foreign children besides taking into account

- the linguistic level (mother-tongue and German) achieved by the learner and his subjective motivation to learn German,
- the target level of German depending on the requirements of the learner's surroundings (joining a peer-group, fulfilling the demands of the school and the expectations of parents),
- other preconditions of the learner related to the abilities of his age (imitative vs. cognitive approach etc.)

has to be aware of

- the fact that learning German deeply affects the psyche of the learner and that this may provoke violent reactions to the learning process,
- the need of starting from the German language acquired outside school and of enabling the learner to transfer his classroom knowledge back into 'real life'.

In drawing up the lessons we tried to meet some of these requirements by adopting the following principles:
1) In order to cope with two conflicting cultures, the foreigner should learn to compare cultural differences and ask for their reasons. This principle of comparison can also be applied to languages and language behavior in order to promote the awareness of bilingualism and the cognitive mastery of different linguistic means.
2) The language of origin may be employed for specific aims within the German language course. The otherwise silent process of comparing and inter-relating both languages thus becomes teacher-guided, more efficient and less erroneous. Oral translation is a skill very important for these children but usually neglected. Finally, the children experience the teacher as learning a foreign language, too, which eases the classroom atmosphere and gives prestige to the language of origin.
3) Instead of following a strict grammatical progression from the supposedly easiest to the more difficult, the

learning of global phrases is combined with focussing the learners' attention on grammatical blocks that are indispensable to master a given topic. A grammatical block can be differentiated according to the needs of the usually heterogeneous group of learners by drawing in (building on) more or less other blocks.

4) The common paradigmatic way of teaching and learning grammar (e.g. klein-kleiner-am kleinsten, groß-größer-am größten) is supplemented by functional grammar acquisition (quality is a relative thing - one and the same object may be according to context: klein-größer-am größten, kleiner-am kleinsten).

For six weeks of teaching practice 3 units were developped, for each unit 8 hours were available. The lessons were given to four groups of Turkish children: 1) a preparatory class with all other subjects in Turkish (1st form), 2) an additional German course for children from regular classes (2nd-7th form!), 3) additional German course (1st-2nd form), 4) additional German course (3rd-4th form).

1. Einheit

Vergleichspunkte: Essensgewohnheiten, Familienrollen
Einführung: Rollenspiel 'deutsche Familie/türkische Familie beim Abendessen':dieses Spiel in beiden Sprachen. Zweisprachige Wörtervermittlung.
Texte: 'In einer türkischen Familie', 'In einer deutschen Familie', jeweils auf Deutsch mit türkischer Übersetzung
Grammatik: Baustein 'Vergleichsformen' (prädikativ)

Reis ist/schmeckt } { gut
Ich finde Reis } { so gut wie Kartoffeln
besser wie Kartoffeln
am besten

Ich esse Reis { gern
so gern wie Kartoffeln
lieber wie Kartoffeln
am liebsten

Behandlung in 3 Schwierigkeitsgraden
Übungsformen: Lehrer-Schüler/Kettenfragen, Satzbautafeln, Übersetzung, Wiegen und Messen, Satzergänzung, Kognitivierung der deutschen und türkischen Morpheme für Vergleichsformen

2. Einheit

Vergleichspunkte: Schüler- und Lehrerverhalten in beiden Ländern
Einführung: Rollenspiel 'Im deutschen Unterricht', 'Im türkischen Unterricht', zweisprachige Wörtervermittlung
Text: 'Im Türkischunterricht', deutsch mit türkischer Übersetzung
Grammatik: Baustein Begründung ('warum'-'weil') Behandlung in 3 Schwierigkeitsgraden
Übungsformen: Dialog Lehrer-Handpuppen, Schüler-Puppen, Schüler-Lehrer, Bildbeschreibung, Umformung von 2 Hauptsätzen in 'weil'-Konstruktionen, Kognitivierung: Stellung des Verbs in deutschen und türkischen 'weil'-Sätzen
Unterrichtsgespräch: Begründung und Vergleich von türkischem und deutschem Lehrer-Schüler-Verhalten

3. Einheit

Vergleichspunkte: Wert und Verwendung beider Sprachen
Lernziele: Deutsch und Türkisch sind gleichwertige Sprachen, Notwendigkeit des Weiterlernens in beiden Sprachen, Vermeidung von Sprachmischung
Einführung: Übersetzerspiel, Berichte zur Sprachverwendung, Sprachbewertungen
Text: 'Deutsch und Türkisch', deutsch mit türkischer Übersetzung
Vertiefung: word naming, Fragebogen zur Sprachverwendung, Orthographievergleich, Suchen nach Interferenzen
Grammatik: Bausteine 'Vergleichsformen' und 'Begründung', Festigung des in der 1. und 2. Einheit Gelernten

Evaluation:

It is generally a problematic undertaking to introduce innovations through the teaching practice of unexperienced students. Six weeks proved too short a time for teaching all 3 units, so the second unit had to be left out. The rather personal topics could have been treated better by teachers already known to the learners. Special problems arose in group 1) (unability to read and write) and 2) (age differences between learners). The comparison of cultures and grammars was a definite succes with the older pupils from regular classes who have no elementary communication problems in German. They also took to translation as a new and interesting language activity and realized their lack of corresponding Turkish

vocabulary. It was also in this activity that cognitive comparison of grammar and word meaning proved its usefulness, making possible a conscious control whenever the Sprachgefühl was shaken. German language programs of this kind seem to recommand themselves for foreign children in surroundings favourable to integration, with a reduced mother-tongue competence but with an undamaged national identification. The relative failure of the cognitive approach to language (grammar, word meaning, alternative use of languages) with the children of the 1st and 2nd form must not, in my opinion, be a principal one but rather forces us to look for a methodological approach more appropriate for this age group. We are now investigating the possibility of linking the cognitive approach with the acquisition of reading and writing where basic notions about language are built up by children in a usually unguided way.

As a direct consequence of this year's teaching practice a discussion group of German and Turkish teachers, students and university teachers has formed in order 1) to coordinate the Turkish language program with the additional German instruction (contents, linguistic topics, teaching methods), 2) to set up a program of coordinate acquisition and training of the German and the Turkish system of reading and writing, 3) to broaden the culture comparison to regular classes with the inclusion of German children. A one week's teachers' training course in September will furnish those who are already working in the instruction of German to foreign children with cultural information, central points of language contrast and an introduction to the methodology of teaching German as a foreign language.

- A language in international use
  deserves all it gets.
  (quotation from the Roskilde
  conference)

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Björn Hammarberg and Åke Viberg (University of Stockholm)

USING LANGUAGE TYPOLOGY IN CONTRASTIVE STUDIES

If you are faced with the task of investigating the specific linguistic problems encountered in a given language by immigrant learners from many different countries, then the logical move will be to apply a framework of language typology and try to make a coherent, multi-contrastive account of the variety of language problems that you find with different learners. This has been our methodological point of departure in the project "Swedish as a Target Language" (the SSM project). We have felt that one cannot easily solve the task by devising a number of parallel bilingual-contrastive grammars of Finnish-Swedish, Turkish-Swedish, Spanish-Swedish, Arabic-Swedish etc. Apart from the enormous size of such an undertaking, the result would yield the false impression that such grammars were mutually independent, and, still worse, a large number of immigrant languages would inevitably be left aside, and the teacher be left helpless with these learners. Rather, we want to investigate the peculiarities of Swedish in a multilingual comparison, and describe how the learning problems tend to vary with different learners. There isn't a different learning problem for each source language; the learning problem varieties tend to fall into types, in a similar way as the languages do. The extent to which the learning problems actually correlate with mother tongue structure is an empirical question that has to be investigated.

In this paper, we will discuss briefly a few types of knowledge that you can gain from a typologically oriented study, and that have a value both in pedagogy and, more generally, in understanding the workings of the specific languages involved.

1. Relations between target language (TL) and native language (NL)

Given a contrastive problem, is it the TL or the NL that has the more "marked" type of structure? This can often not be answered in an isolated bilingual-contrastive study, but in the framework of a multilingual comparison it is possible to relate the TL and the various NL's to each other along a scale with a typological, or typological-areal, or complexity dimension. This may provide a better understanding of the differences and similarities between the languages under comparison, and also guide individualization in teaching.

2. Testing interference hypotheses. In judging possible sources of error in TL, particularly in recognizing intralingual overgeneralization or generalization from NL (interference), it is sometimes helpful to have comparable data for other NL's.

3. Implications. It is possible to make implicative statements of the type "If a language has property x, then it also has property y", "If error type x occurs with learners with a certain NL, then we may also expect error type y to occur with such learners". Such implications can furnish hypotheses for a systematic procedure of diagnostic testing.

4. Functional explanations in language description. A cross-anguage comparison may be useful in order to find, and to validate functional explanations of language structure in i particular language, notably the TL.

We will bring a few examples to illustrate these points, and perhaps also summarize a few typological characteristics of Swedish as a TL.

On determining developmental stages in natural second language acquisition

Jürgen M. Meisel and Manfred Pienemann, Wuppertal

Abstract

Differences in the structure and/or frequency of use of certain features in the language of L2 learners are quite often interpreted as indicating different stages in the development of L2. We want to challenge this straightforward interpretation of linguistic data. Developmental stages will have to be defined on language internal grounds, i.e. one will have to identify major features which do indeed indicate that a learner has reached a new stage in the process of L2 acquisition. Within each stage one must allow for variation, or rather, different learner varieties. These varieties will be explained as the result of psycho-social factors influencing "natural" L2 acquisition. The major features will be plotted on what we hope turns out to be an implicational scale, thus being strictly ordered in a developmental sequence.

Due to circumstances beyond the control of the Editors, the full paper cannot be included in this place. We have put this abstract in its place, since the discussion (see the following pages) refers constantly to the original paper presented at the conference. We hope that the paper will be available elsewhere later on.

Discussion

Jacob Mey : How could you maintain the ideal implicational sequence? It seems to me that there is no way of establishing it except by very detailed empirical studies of a vast material. "Implicational" means that something has to come and I can't see in any language rules which influence the choice of certain lexical or grammatical alternatives.

Jürgen Meisel : I would not like to give up the idea of developmental stages within the language acquisition process, and in my opinion, an implicational scale can be used as an indicator of these acquisitional stages. There is, of course, some internal logic - it is for example trivial to say that articles are acquired after nouns. What we need are less trivial insights. The question we started with is "What is the order of sequences?" Now we are going to prove our hypothesis in a longitudinal study.

Inken Keim : On what characteristics are you going to define your linguistic stages?

Jürgen Meisel : That is the critical question. We can make a hypothesis about it; we cannot a priori define them. To see whether it is true, you need a longitudinal study.
We worked to a certain degree in a circular way: We looked for features with little variation occurring with each of our informants, and if these features were implicationally related we hypothesized that they might be an indicator of a developmental stage. Our main problem is: changes in the second recording might just be a variation within the first stage which you did not get in the first recording. Should you - or how should you - describe variation within stages?

Kenneth Hyltenstam : Concerning the deletion of the copula in equational sentences: You say that equational sentences can either contain the copula or not. What type of variation do those informants show who have not yet developed the copula when they start using equational sentences? And isn't it very difficult to pinpoint the exact time when this type of sentence begins to appear and to say for sure that it can contain the copula or not?

Manfred Pienemann : At first there are two directions of second language acquisition represented by speakers who either do have or do not have the copula in equational sentences. In the following stages, some speakers acquire the copula - they are placed somewhere in the middle of the scale, others do not at all - that is, a very advanced level of their second language acquisition contains equational sentences without a copula.

As to your second question: All I could do was to make tape recordings every few weeks. What helped me is that the second language acquisition of Italian children is very slow, I had a lot of recordings with one-word or one-constituent sentences first and then with equational sentences. This can show, I hope, where a developmental stage ends and a new one begins.

Kenneth Hyltenstam : Does the copula occur first in a certain type of equational sentence?

Jürgen Meisel : At first with nouns. The study of S. Felix with British children has exactly the same result in that point.

Ulf Teleman : Does it never happen that something is there at first, then disappears, then comes back etc. - caused by the interference of other rules for example?

Jürgen Meisel : Of course, a developmental sequence is not merely characterized by increasing complexity. The acquisition of a language is a very complicated process: on the one hand, the grammatical, lexical, and other systems of the target language are built up, on the other hand, certain strategies of communication - simplifying, etc. - are developed in the beginning. The process of language learning thus means learning more of the target language as well as giving up those strategies.

Ulf Teleman : Do you use your implicational scales pedagogically? Can you derive some preconditions on communication, on progression from them?

Jürgen Meisel : We can only speculate that such a model constitutes a plausible hypothesis about what is learnable.

Norbert Dittmar : With an implicational scale, speakers are distinguished by presence or absence of a rule. But it is very difficult to include frequencies in such a scale. Frequencies cannot always indicate whether there is a continuous increase or rule command as they can be influenced by overgeneralization or other learning strategies.

Jürgen Meisel : "Overgeneralization" is one of those difficult terms which are not at all clear.

Wilfried Stölting : When you study the occurrences of inversion in sentences where inversion is not necessary, it is easy to see that there is a generalized rule about "habich, haste, hamwa" in normal sentences and this rule might be transferred to sentences where inversion <u>is</u> necessary. An isolated investigation of sentences with correct inversion would therefore yield distorted results.

Jürgen Meisel : In this case, I do not believe in interference. There is an important difference between the use of first person pronouns and the rest. We have examples where "habich" is used in the beginning of a sentence as well as examples like "ich was kochen" instead of "was koche ich".
We did compare our results with the inverted form in sentences where inversion is not necessary, but the rule application differs significantly.

Frank Müller : As you told us, there are two different acquisition processes: on the one hand, there are speakers who do not care for correct grammar but have as strongest motivation their wish to communicate efficiently as soon as possible - and on the other hand, there are speakers who want to acquire correct grammar at first.
Couldn't the social factors be the more important ones and determine the acquisition orders in a way that there are no independent variables but socially and psychologically different strategies leading to different acquisition orders?

Manfred Pienemann : We believe that the different directions of language acquisition are dependent on the development of social identity, that there are many different possibilities according to which the language acquisition process, which is controlled by social factors could be ordered. But as to our study, I do not think that it is possible to get a strict order of syntactic features - in the sense as we have defined it: that something cannot come before something else, that something is skipped at a certain stage etc. - if one proceeds like you have suggested.
And the longitudinal study gave us some evidence to believe that there is <u>one</u> acquisition order for <u>dif-</u>

ferent types of language learners. You can fix the acquisition of certain types of sentences or certain rules to certain stages - they are only acquired in a different way.

Börje Viberg : Are there any studies concerned with the acquisition of German as first language and what do you think of comparing the results of such investigations with your results?

Jürgen Meisel : Max Miller's study "Zur Logik des frühkindlichen Spracherwerbs" is the only general survey study covering the whole language acquisition process. In other studies, only isolated features have been investigated.
There are basic differences, I think, between L1- and L2-acquisition. The second language acquisition is much more syntactically oriented from the beginning and does not have that pivot stage in the same sense as you find it in first language acquisition. In first language acquisition, for example, WH-questions are often used without WH-words - something we never found in second language learners who do, however, have WH-movement.
It would surely be interesting to look at first language data, but only for certain features.

ORDERING ADULT LEARNERS ACCORDING TO LANGUAGE ABILITIES[+]

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1. INTRODUCTION

This article deals with the ranking of 48 Spanish and Italian adult migrant workers according to their command of German syntax. Empirical research into the levels of second language competence can contribute in the long run to a continuous improvement of the teaching of German to migrants. Whether directed or undirected second language learning is investigated, there will be the constant need to have a measure for classifying speakers according to their level of second language competence.

A ranking of speakers is a precondition for an appropriate rating of the verbal abilities of speakers in order (1) to determine the linguistic distance between learner varieties and the local German vernacular and among learner varieties themselves and (2)to establish homogeneous learner groups for practical teaching purposes and to evaluate the second language competence of learners at the beginning of a course. It is also a requirement for comparison of acquisition sequences.

In what follows, we discuss a practical method of ordering speakers for the purpose of the above mentioned points (1) and (2) only. Although the result of this ordering suggests deriving from its manifestation with regard to the application and non-application of rules a so called "natural" acquisition sequence (Bailey,Madden, and Krashen 1974), we refrain from such an interpretation mainly for two reasons: 1. our ordering of speakers results from a profile study and 2. up to now, there is no precise knowledge of the psychological correlates of the verbal learning process.[1]

[+] I am indebted to Dieter Stein who carefully corrected the manuscript and made a number of valuable suggestions.

[1] For example, we know well-nigh nothing about the complicated interrelations of the different linguistic levels (phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, pragmatics), the dependence on each other and the overlap between them in the whole learning process. The same holds true for the psychological correlates of the so called learners' communication strategies. Moreover, the state of

We will, nevertheless, maintain that the implicational ordering of speakers according to selected syntactic rules we are trying to present below gives us a rough picture of some linguistic stages migrant learners of German might pass through. It must, however, be stressed that this assumption is just a simple hypothesis, and that we will have to verify whether such stages do really exist psychologically.

In the following sections, we will first briefly state some requirements which research in second language learning has to meet, then give an outline of the aims and methods of the Heidelberg project and in the last, most important section, we will report and discuss some findings in the ranking of learners based on a syntactic analysis.

2. REQUIREMENTS ON SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING RESEARCH

Many recent empirical studies in second language learning suffer from the disadvantage that they don't give an explicit account of their methodological framework, including elicitation techniques, data processing, linguistic description of the learning process and its explanation. Therefore, comparisons of the main findings are mostly difficult or not possible at all because valid explanations of the learning process depend, trivially enough, as well on the quality of the collected data and their processing as on the methods of description. The following suggestions reflect minimal requirements investigations in second language learning should meet.

2.1 Type of Data Collection and Processing

We have to account for

(a) the sample size (case study vs. large-scale study)

(b) the elicitation techniques (test; interview; gathering of data in formal and informal contexts; context-dependent use of L1 and L2 by the learner; topic-centered vs. free conversation; impact of the situation and the interacting persons on the verbal output of the learner etc.)

(Foot-note 1 continued)

research in this area is even worse: there is no evidence at all to what extent the source language, the daily exposure to the target language, intermediate stages of learner varieties, or psychological or other factors contribute to the selection and elaboration of particular linguistic structures in the course of the learning pro-

(c) the kind of the empirical inquiry (longitudinal vs. profile study; participant observation vs. interview; combination of linguistic and extra-linguistic data gathering; strong verification of pre-formulated hypotheses vs. exploratory study on the impact of various extra-linguistic variables etc.)

(d) the methods of data processing and documentation (extra-linguistic data: formal notation vs. interpretative procedure; processing of the linguistic data: immediate coding on the base of the recordings; "readers transcript"for purposes of conversational and pragmatic analyses (Schenkein 1978:xi-xvi; Ehlich and Rehbein 1977); narrow phonetic transcription for a detailed analysis of intonation, phonological and morphological analysis (HPD 1975a: 132-134); coding procedure on the basis of the transcripts: discovery of phonetic variants, definition of sentence boundaries, account of the verbal context of the linguistic elements etc.)

2.2 Type of Data Description

It is clear that we have, first of all, to indicate whether our analysis aims at a contrastive description or error analysis or at a mere "documentation" of learner varieties in the course of second language learning. We will focus on these points as well as on explanatory factors of the linguistic data in the next section.

There are as numerous possibilities of analyzing the data as models of linguistic description are available. But looking for developmental stages in second language learning, we are concerned essentially with the description of linguistic variation. Crucial for all types of description is the principle of accountability (Labov 1969): we have to give an explicit account of the occurrences and non-occurrences of variable linguistic features in specific and relevant linguistic contexts for a speaker in a given corpus. Because this procedure is often not followed, there is no way to recognize and evaluate the correctness of an established rule or sequence in acquisition. Since any researcher who is familiar with the variability of the acquisition process will be likely to doubt that a new rule is acquired by 'categorical' bounds (cf. for an excellent study of counter-evidence Labov and Labov 1978), he is suspicious

of studies which present ordered stages or sequences of acquisition without accounting for the transition from one stage to the next stage. Ignoring the transition process automatically means loss of explanatory value and will end up in the categorical fallac To help the patient presupposes an overall and precise diagnosis. To teach the learner efficiently[2] presupposes a detailed descriptio and explanation of the learning process. The principle of accountability guarantees valid documentation and, in the last consequence, provides the basis for precise determination of practical steps which can improve the level of second language competence.

Closely related to the principle of accountability is the problem of modelling the linguistic variation, in our context: the acquisition process. This can be done by various approaches. It can be solved by probabilistic grammars (Suppes 1970; Klein and Dittmar 1978), variable rule analysis (Labov and Labov 1978; Cedergren and Sankoff 1974), implicational scales (DeCamp 1971), contrastive or error analysis (Corder 1973). These approaches can be differentiated by how they account for transitions and frequencies, the means they provide for identifying stages in the acquisition process, the way they take account of the influence of the source language and the target language, and the nature of categories and rules they use. Although the decision for a certain model depends to a large degree on the purposes of the research, studies should nevertheless satisfy the following general criteria:

(i) they should be conventionally manageable and clearly defined;
(ii) they should be explicit and verifiable;
(iii) they should indicate the status of the linguistic data and of the descriptive procedure.

"Conventionally manageable" requires that the model should be applicable to a large amount of data in a clear-cut way. "Explicit" means that methods and materials are presented in such a way that they are accessible to checks. "Status of linguistic data" asks for an explanatory perspective: whether they are independent or dependent variables (in this latter case, the independent variables should be specified). "Status of descriptive procedure" demands specifications of the principles of data processing: the definition and operationalization of linguistic units, the way 'defective'

[2] I.e. to construct a teaching syllabus on the basis of the already acquired knowledge of the learner in the course of undirected second language learning.

learner utterances are "reconstructed" (cf. Corder 1973) semantically or only "documented" as mere fragments (Klein and Dittmar 1978) etc.

2.3 Type of Explanation

'Explanation' is closely linked to the problems mentioned in the previous section. The following questions should be clarified:

(i) Are the linguistic data an independent variable? In this case, the dependent variables have to be specified.

(ii) Are the linguistic data a dependent variable? In this case, the independent variables have to be specified.

(iii) What role do the source language, the different levels of interlanguage and the (norms of the) target language play in the explanation of intermediate stages in the learning process? What is the impact of the explanatory perspective on the practical description?

Beyond these three points, it should be clear that all previously mentioned criteria and points have a - more or less crucial - impact on explanation which is the highest and most influential level of scientific argumentation. Up to now, mostly 'description' has been considered relevant for 'explanation'. But nowadays, we are more and more aware of the strong impact methods of data gathering can have on 'explanation'. The explanatory claim of having isolated 'natural sequences' in second language acquisition can be maintained in the long run only if a longitudinal study has been made. It would also be relevant for such a study that such a result was not obtained by formal testing only.

Thus, 'explanation' is affected by nearly all decisions which have to be made in the course of a research project.

3. AIMS AND METHODS OF THE HEIDELBERG PROJECT

The aims of the project carried out at the University of Heidelberg since 1974[3] are the following:

1. Documentation of the linguistic process of learning German as a second language by foreign workers.

[3] The project is sponsored by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. Members of the project are Angelika Becker, Norbert Dittmar, Wolfgang Klein, Bert-Olaf Rieck, Margit Gutmann, Ingeborg Senft, Wolfram Steckner and Elisabeth Thielicke. The present article is, of course, a reflection of the activities of the whole group. Unfortunately, any shortcomings which remain in spite of their efforts are my own.

2. Suggestions for the improvement of teaching courses to migrants on the basis of empirical findings on the undirected second language learning process.

The motivation to undertake this sociolinguistic study may readily be gathered from the article Situation of Foreign Workers in the Federal Republic of Germany by Bert-Olaf Rieck and Ingeborg Senft in this volume.

3.1 Data Collection

For data gathering, we used two complementary techniques: interviews and participant observation. In this article, all our observations and analyses are based on interview material. A detailed report of the results of the participant observation can be found in HPD (1975a:60-111).

In the context of our study, interviewing had the following advantages:

(i) possibility of determining in advance the population of persons to be interviewed;
(ii) possibility of interviewing a great many individuals in a short space of time;
(iii) ease of recording interviews on tape;
(iv) speed in obtaining data on the social situation of those interviewed.

We started with the principle that the recordings to be studied must not exceed 1oo hours. Basing ourselves on an average duration of two hours per interview, we established the number of individuals to be interrogated at 48. This sample is represented in equal parts by Italians and Spaniards, two thirds of whom are men and one third women; this more or less corresponds to the proportion of women among foreign workers as a whole (cf. Bundesanstalt für Arbeit 1973). The length of residence constitutes an additional criterion for composing the sample: 12 informants had been in the F.R.G. for less than 2.7 years; 12 between 2.8 and 4.3 years; 12 between 4.4 and 7.0, and 12 for more than 7.0 years.

The following Table 1 shows the composition of the sample, according to nationality, sex, and length of residence.

TABLE 1. HEIDELBERG PROJECT SAMPLE

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE	ITALIANS		SPANIARDS		Σ
	men	women	men	women	
< 2.7 years	4	2	4	2	12
2.8-4.3 years	4	2	4	2	12
4.4-7.o years	4	2	4	2	12
>7.o years	4	2	4	2	12
Σ	16	8	16	8	
	24		24		48

Other additional criteria were established in order to assure comparisons among speakers and learner varieties. They are not reported here since they are not relevant for this study (cf. for details HPD 1978a:13).

The interview took the form of casual but carefully directed conversations using special techniques in order to avoid communicative disturbances and deviations from usual communicative behavior. The conversation with the migrants focused mainly on the following topics: (a) individual and social situation in the country of origin, (b) move to the F.R.G., (c) situation at the place of work, (d) housing and family, (e) leisure pursuits, (f) accidents and illness and (g) intentions regarding return to the country of origin (cf. HPD 1975a:54). In general, an interview lasted from two to four hours.

In addition to the interviews with Spanish and Italian workers, we also gathered linguistic data from among the German workers of Heidelberg. The purpose was to determine the variety of language used by German workers of the same social class as the foreign workers in their everyday communication with Germans and migrants. This variety of language is to be considered as the 'target variety' toward which the various 'pidgin'-varieties converge, and hence can be linked to the linguistic varieties of the foreign workers.

The following are the criteria which guided our selection of 12 German informants:

(i) employment in Heidelberg firms employing many foreign workers;
(ii) distribution by sex and age corresponding to that of the foreign workers;
(iii) use of spoken Heidelberg dialect.

The sociolinguistic interviews were used on the one hand to gather social data which should help to explain the linguistic properties of statements, and on the other hand to obtain good-quality recordings of conversations which should be in as natural surroundings as possible. Also a second series of interviews was made with the Spanish informants approximately three years after the first interview series[4], our investigation is essentially a 'profile' and not a longitudinal study.[5] Because of the fact that our sample of 48 speakers comprises very different cases of 'learner careers' due to very different social conditions of learning and resulting at one extreme in very poorly pidginized varieties and at the other extreme in a native-like command of the Palatinate vernacular, the issue of our study is a simulated and condensed picture of an ongoing learning process in relative time (not in real time), i.e. the condensed picture gives us an impression of different linguistic stages learners pass through, but cannot at all account for acceleration, stagnation, regression etc. in the course of learning. Therefore, the results of our study can be put in terms of 'linguistic stages' and not in terms of 'natural sequences' (cf. Bailey, Madden and Krashen 1974).

Although we know that many psychological factors contribute crucially to the 'result' of learner varieties, we were not able to (and did in fact not succeed in) operationalize the important concepts of 'motivation','attitude' etc. in a meaningful way.Therefore, the explanatory factors of the different levels of learner varieties in our research are:

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[4] For a more extensive account of the first interview series, see HPD (1975a:43-59), and for the second interview series, see HPD (1978b:109-124).

[5] The second series of interviews is currently being analyzed.One purpose is to compare speech performances of selected speakers with regard to progress vs. fossilization in the course of the undirected learning process; another one is a thorough study of the semantic features of the concepts 'tense' and 'modality'in learner varieties on the basis of elicited translations Spanish-German, German-Spanish.

1. contact with Germans during leisure time and at place of work;
2. age at the time of immigration;
3. professional training in the country of origin;
4. education (years of attendance at school);
5. duration of stay in Germany.[6]

Comparing non-academic (=foreign migrant workers) and academic learners of German,one will easily detect that in the case of the former social conditions override psychological ones.[7] But given the fact that social and psychological determinants of second language learning are so poorly understood up to now (a promising exception is Schumann 1975), all relevant factors having some impact on L2 acquisition should be taken into account and explored carefully step by step. In the present phase of research, this procedure seems to be more promising than the verification of narrowly formulated hypotheses.

3.2 Data Processing

Following each interview, one of the investigators listened to his recording and prepared a listening report in which he noted the informants' social data (age, length of residence, contact situation, attitude toward return in the country of origin, etc.). These are then coded in a systematic way and subjected to a detailed sociological analysis which is the input to correlations with the linguistic data.[8]

At the same time, passages are selected that are to be transcribed phonetically. Per interview, there is a total of between 15 and 30 minutes of transcribed text. For this purpose, accounts by informants are - if possible - selected which are sufficiently long and coherent. This is intended on the one hand to permit the transcription of statements as naturally as possible and, on the other hand, to exclude the ellipses frequently encountered in question-and-answer sequences which run the risk of deforming results.

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[6] Cf. Klein and Dittmar (1978, ch. 9).

[7] Cf. HPD (1975 a,b) and Dittmar (1978).

[8] The sociological correlates of the acquired second language level of the learners are not reported in this article. For a full account of this issue, cf. HPD (1978a) and Klein and Dittmar (1978).

The system of phonetic transcription that we use is closely patterned after the German phonemic system. The notation is based on IPA. But contrary to IPA, it can be type written.[9]

In order to obtain the syntactic descriptions of learner varieties and the Palatinate vernacular we are dealing with in the present report[10], we selected from the transcripts of each speaker a sample of 1oo sentences subjected to an analysis by variety grammar. This type of grammar served as framework of our descriptions, and its concept will be explained briefly in the next section.

3.3 A Descriptive Framework for Modelling the Acquisition Process

The concept of variety grammar has been introduced by Klein (1974). Two basic notions are space of varieties and probabilistic grammar. Probabilistic grammars are simply formal grammars (i.e. context-free, context-sensitive grammars etc.) with an index associated to each rule giving the probability of rule application.[11] The details depend on the type of grammar and whether conditioned probabilities are taken into account; I shall not discuss this here (for a detailed discussion, cf. Klein and Dittmar 1978, chs. 1-6).

A 'space of varieties' is an analytical grid powerful enough to distinguish all possible varieties supposed to exist. It is a ordered listing of extra-linguistic factors (independent variables) accounting for the linguistic data (dependent variables). From the extra-linguistic standpoint, for example, a complete set of well-defined factors corresponds to the different linguistic varieties involved in second language learning. Let us suppose that three of these factors are the following:

1. 'motivation', comprising three degrees of intensity: m_1= strong, m_2= average, m_3= weak;
2. 'duration of learning': t_1= 6 months, t_2= 12 months, t_3= 18 months, t_4= 24 months;

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9 For lack of space, I do not present the transcription system here. For a detailed account, cf. HPD (1975a:132-134) and Klein and Dittmar (1978, ch. 7).

10 Morphological and lexico-semantic aspects as well as the description of word order are dealt with in HPD (1976), Klein and Dittmar (1978,ch. 8) and HPD (1978 b).

11 Given this formal requirement of probabilistic grammar, it is clear that variety grammar meets the principle of accountability as to data treatment.

3. 'mother tongue' of the person learning the language:
   l_1= Spanish, l_2= Italian.

This gives 3x4x2 = 24 varieties, each of which is defined by a triple of factors, for example m_1, t_4, l_2 = a strongly motivated Italian having learned German for 2 years.

The whole set of triples constitutes the 'space of varieties' on which the investigation is based. Of course, one cannot be sure that the space of varieties constructed in this way contains only and all the relevant factors and distinctions. It is only an hypothesis about the relevant determinants of variation in the field under study.

Next, representative data must be obtained for each variety within the space of varieties, and a grammar must be written; the grammar may be constructed in different ways, but it must be clearly defined. In the case of our syntactic analysis, we constructed a context-free grammar which is presented in Figure 1. We call this grammar reference grammar consisting, formally speaking, of the union of all rule sets of the individual grammars of the variety space. This means, informally speaking, that the grammar

1. S → (SA) PROP
2. PROP → (NC) VC (Neg)
3. VC → { VG / PVL }
4. VG → (Aux) (MV) { VP / PRC }
5. VP → V (NC) (NC) (AC) (AC) (AC)
6. PRC → Cop { NC / AC } (NC) (AC) (AC)
7. PVL → { NC / AC } (NC) (AC) (AC)
8. NC → { (Prep) { NP / Pro (ATN) } / (Quan) Adj / Num / S }
9. NP → (ATV) (ATN) (ATN) N
10. ATV → (Det) ({ Quan / Num })
11. ATN → { (Prep) { N / NP / Pro } / Adj / AC / S }
12. AC → { (Prep) { NP / Pro / Num } / ({ Prep / Quan }) Adv / Quan / S }
13. SA → (MOD) (TEMP)
14. MOD → { (Prep) NP / Adv_m }
15. TEMP → { (Prep) NP / Adv_t / Num }

List of Categories Used

AC	adverbial complex	NC	nominal complex
Adj	adjective	NP	noun phrase
Adv	adverb	Num	numeral
Adv_m	modal adverb	PRC	predicate (copula construction)
Adv_t	temporal adverb	Prep	preposition
ATN	attribute (1)	Pro	pronoun
ATV	attribute (2)	PROP	proposition
Aux	auxiliary	PVL	predicate without verb phrase
Con	conjunction	Quan	quantifier
Cop	copula	S	sentence
Det	determiner	SA	sentence adverbial
MOD	modal element	TEMP	temporal element
MV	modal verb	V	verb
N	noun	VC	verbal complex
Neg	negation	VG	verbal group
		VP	verb phrase

Figure 1. Reference Grammar

is constructed in such a way that it describes the poorest and most pidginized varieties at one extreme of the scale and the most elaborated and dialect-specific varieties at the other extreme. It is not a grammar of any language or variety; it is merely a useful analytical construct. It contains 101 context-free rules in all, arranged in the form of 15 rule clusters. A rule cluster consists of all rules with the same lefthand symbol, the rules within a cluster being alternative ways of rewriting this symbol. For instance, in rule cluster 3, VK may be rewritten as VG or as PVL where VG leads to sentences with (finite) verb or copula and PVL to sentences without (finite) verb or copula.

The reference grammar (cf. Figure 1) can generate each variety by the association to each rule of an appropriate value between 0 and 1. This value indicates the probability of application of this rule in the variety in question. A given rule may be applied in a certain variety with probability 0.9 which means, informally speaking, that it is an important rule in that variety. In another variety, its probability may even be 0.2, i.e. it is less probable that it occurs in the derivation of a sentence. In a third variety, its probability may even be 0, i.e. it does not occur at all in that variety. The same grammar is then used to describe all varieties in a given space of varieties, and the differences between them are expressed by the differences of rule values.

In the framework of variety grammar, the 'space of varieties' (=extra-linguistic factors) are the independent and the 'probabilistic grammars' (linguistic rules) the dependent variables, i.e. linguistic differences are explained by extra-linguistic factors. The resulting explanatory correlations are not reported in this article, but can be found in detail in HPD (1976, ch. 6) and in Klein and Dittmar (1978, ch. 9).

This reference grammar was used to parse 100 sentences from each informant's interview, and hence to compile relative frequencies of rule applications within each cluster. The parsing was recorded in the form of labeled bracketing, facilitating the counting of rule applications. We interpret the relative frequencies of rule applications as estimates of the probabilities within the variety the 100 sentences represent. These estimates may not be too accurate in some cases, because the number of occurrences is sometimes too small to ensure that the figures would not significantly change with a larger number of sentences being considered.

Nevertheless, the relative frequencies after 50 sentences and then after 100 sentences per informant were essentially the same. In order to check this, we first analysed two corpora of 50 sentences respectively for 12 of our informants. Then, the 12 informants were ranked according to the frequencies of 8 rules; thus, we obtained 2 x 8 rank scales with 12 ranks. It proved that the results were very similar in both corpora. The correlations for the eight scales are shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2. CORRELATION OF 2 CORPORA OF 50 SENTENCES FOR EIGHT RULES AND 12 INFORMANTS

RULE	PEARSON r
PROP → NC VC (Neg)	0.59
VC → VG	0.89
VG → VP	0.81
VP → V	0.27
NC → Pro	0.72
NP → N	0.75
ATV → Det	0.51
AC → NP	0.67

With the exception of VP → V, the frequencies are more or less stable after 50 sentences. We therefore concluded (a) that a sample of 100 sentences per informant should be large enough to exclude random fluctuations, and (b) that it could not be expected that larger corpora of 500 or even 1000 sentences per informant should give us other or "deeper" insights about the acquisition of syntactic regularities.[12]

4. TWO POSSIBILITIES OF ORDERING SPEAKERS ACCORDING TO SYNTACTIC ABILITIES

There may be many possibilities of ordering and grouping speakers with regard to their use of syntactic rules. In the following presentation, I will discuss two approaches to such an ordering. The first consists of a 'cumulative index' based on complexity and relative frequency of rule applications, the second of 'implica-

[12] A detailed discussion about all the theoretical, empirical and technical questions involved in this issue can be found in HPD (1976) and Klein and Dittmar (1978).

tional scales' based on presence vs. absence of a rule (and, to some extent, on frequency of rule applications). I will first present the results of an ordering according to the 'cumulative index' and then, in the second section of this paragraph, regroup the speakers by an implicational ordering of selected rules. Finally, from the comparison of the results of the two procedures, I will draw some conclusions and discuss their descriptive and explanatory advantages and disadvantages. The following presentation and discussion is, of course, based on the assumption (as outlined in the introduction) that ordering of speakers according to linguistic abilities is useful and indispensable in order (a) to compare levels of second language acquisition among learners, (b) to determine the linguistic distance of learners to the target variety (the local vernacular) and (c) to evaluate the learners' command of the second language with the practical aim of improving their competence in second language by teaching.

For lack of space, the data of the German speakers of the local Heidelberg vernacular, i.e. the target variety of the learners, are not given in the tables amd hence not discussed. It is assumed that the syntactically most developed and advanced speaker is the closest to the local vernacular, whereas the speaker with the most defective and pidginized variety shows the greatest distance to the target variety.[13]

4.1 Ordering by Cumulative Index

The procedure of ordering 48 Spanish and Italian speakers by means of a cumulative index will be explained step by step in some detail below.

A corpus of 1oo sentences per informant, i.e. about 6ooo sentences in the whole (including the German informants) was analysed by means of the reference grammar as represented in Figure 1. Having parsed the sentence corpora of the learners by means of the 101 rules of the grammar, the application and non-application probabilities of all rules within a rule cluster were calculated. The results represent a variety grammar for all 48 informants. The 101

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[13] A detailed account of the linguistic distances between learner varieties and the local vernacular may be found in Klein and Dittmar (1978, ch. 7).

values per informant form something like a 'syntactic profile' of this informant. Such a profile is somewhat clumsy; it contains a great amount of superfluous information because many rules have similar values for all informants, i.e. they don't develop, and comparing the learners' syntactic abilities on the basis of their complete profiles would be a tedious work. Therefore, we decided to work out a technique that would allow us to concentrate the syntactic abilities of a learner in one syntactic characteristic: the syntactic index. It is clear that such an index cannot conserve the whole information of the profile, but it should maintain the most important information. That means: it should be based on all rules that show a real development, unless they are very rarely used. We excluded therefore all rules (a) with an average of n $\geq$ 40 occurrences per informant, and (b) whose variability ranges over less than 40% of the possible range. (A rule's probability may range from 0 to 1. If it ranges from 0.3 to 0.5, it is excluded; if it ranges from 0 to 0.5, it is taken into account). These criteria excluded the rules of the clusters 6,7, 11,13,14 and 15 (number of occurrences too small) and the rules of cluster 1 (range too small). The remaining rules are listed in Figure 2.

2.01	PROP	→	VC
2.02	PROP	→	VC Neg
2.03	PROP	→	NC VC
2.04	PROP	→	NC VC Neg
3.01	VC	→	VG
3.02	VC	→	PVL
4.01	VG	→	VP
4.02	VG	→	Aux VP
4.03	VG	→	MV VP
4.04	VG	→	Aux MV VP
4.05	VG	→	PRC
4.06	VG	→	Aux PRC
4.07	VG	→	MV PRC
4.08	VG	→	Aux MV PRC
5.01	VP	→	V
5.02	VP	→	V NC
5.03	VP	→	V NC NC
5.04	VP	→	V AC
5.05	VP	→	V AC AC
5.06	VP	→	V AC AC AC
5.07	VP	→	V NC AC
5.08	VP	→	V NC AC AC
5.09	VP	→	V NC AC AC AC
5.10	VP	→	V NC NC AC
5.11	VP	→	V NC NC AC AC
5.12	VP	→	V NC NC AC AC AC
8.01	NC	→	NP
8.02	NC	→	Pro
8.03	NC	→	Pro ATN
8.04	NC	→	Prep NP
8.05	NC	→	Prep Pro
8.06	NC	→	Prep Pro ATN
8.07	NC	→	Adj
8.08	NC	→	Quan Adj
8.09	NC	→	Num
8.10	NC	→	S
9.01	NP	→	N
9.02	NP	→	ATV N
9.03	NP	→	ATN N
9.04	NP	→	ATV ATN N
9.05	NP	→	ATN ATN N
9.06	NP	→	ATV ATN ATN N
10.01	ATV	→	Det
10.02	ATV	→	Quan
10.03	ATV	→	Num
10.04	ATV	→	Det Quan
10.05	ATV	→	Det Num
12.01	AC	→	NP
12.02	AC	→	Pro
12.03	AC	→	Num
12.04	AC	→	Prep NP
12.05	AC	→	Prep Pro
12.06	AC	→	Prep Num
12.07	AC	→	Adv
12.08	AC	→	Prep Adv
12.09	AC	→	Quan Adv
12.10	AC	→	Quan
12.11	AC	→	S

Figure 2. Phrase structure rules used for the 'syntactic index'

It would not make sense to base a rank order on all rules of these eight blocks, since the rules within a block are not independent from each other: their total probability is always 1. Therefore, we selected one or two rules from each block (two, if they describe together one specific syntactic phenomenon). These rules and the syntactic phenomenon which they describe are the following:

1. PROP → NC VC (Neg) (rules 2.3 + 2.4)
   Presence vs. absence of the subject
2. VC → VG (rule 3.1)
   Presence vs. absence of the verb
3. VG → VP (rule 4.1)
   Complexity and differentiation of the verb group (with or without auxiliary or modal)
4. VP → V (rule 5.1)
   Complexity of the verb complements
5. NC → Pro (ATN) (rules 8.2 + 8.3)
6. NP → N (rule 9.1)
   Complexity of the noun phrase (with or without attributes)
7. ATV → Det (rule 10.1)
   Type of determiner
8. AC → NP (rule 12.1)
   Type of adverbial complex

For the rules 2.3 + 2.4, 3.1, 8.2 + 8.3 and 10.1, the application probabilities increase with greater language fluency; that means for example, that advanced learners have a stronger tendency to use subjects (rule 2.3 + 2.4) or pronouns (rule 8.2 + 8.3). For the rules 4.1, 5.1, 9.1 and 12.1, the application probabilities decrease; this means that they use fewer VGs without auxiliaries or modals (4.1) and fewer nouns without attributes (9.1). Since the syntactic index should rank the informants in the same direction, the complement 1-p had to be taken for the rules 4.1, 5.1, 9.1 and 12.1. The syntactic index is the arithmetic mean of the eight probability values (or their complements) after z-transformation ($z = (x_i - \bar{x}) : s$). The values and the syntactic index are listed in Table 3; the most advanced speakers have the highest index values.

The index we computed is to some extent arbitrary. Therefore, we should warn against any overinterpretation of such a cumulative index. Nevertheless, it may be worthwile to mention that the index

TABLE.3. PROBABILISTIC VALUES FOR SELECTED PHRASE STRUCTURE RULES AND 'SYNTACTIC INDEX'

	Rules								
Informant	2.03 and 2.04	3.01	4.02 to 4.08	5.02 to 5.12	8.02 and 8.03	9.02 to 9.06	10.01	12.02 to 12.11	Syntactic index
IT-01	1.00	1.00	.83	.84	.61	.79	.88	.99	1.602
SP-11	.95	1.00	.89	.91	.60	.68	.82	.97	1.448
IT-31	.95	1.00	.60	.93	.54	.67	.80	.94	1.243
SP-29	.85	.99	.61	.89	.60	.72	.82	.91	1.234
SP-19	.94	1.00	.57	.83	.55	.82	.75	.92	1.233
IT-22	.84	.95	.42	.90	.64	.71	.69	.80	.961
SP-31	.89	.97	.47	.75	.47	.84	.79	.85	.956
IT-02	.74	.88	.47	.85	.55	.73	.79	.96	.934
SP-24	.85	.98	.47	.85	.70	.62	.46	.90	.831
SP-17	.94	.85	.41	.80	.47	.64	.80	.88	.765
IT-10	.73	.92	.45	.89	.48	.62	.72	.91	.709
IT-06	.82	.96	.51	.77	.53	.57	.55	.83	.527
IT-33	.77	.90	.60	.86	.43	.61	.50	.66	.375
IT-20	.70	.91	.24	.76	.52	.60	.58	.96	.374
SP-06	.61	.87	.38	.82	.51	.57	.58	.84	.291
SP-13	.72	.79	.15	.85	.42	.57	.61	.89	.208
IT-15	.63	.82	.27	.87	.35	.55	.67	.88	.200
SP-01	.62	.67	.40	.70	.51	.60	.68	.79	.135
SP-36	.65	.72	.21	.92	.33	.50	.59	.98	.116
IT-26	.57	.78	.12	.81	.49	.51	.69	.92	.112
IT-05	.73	.71	.17	.87	.40	.52	.69	.71	.059
IT-25	.64	.69	.42	.76	.49	.57	.58	.68	.031
IT-32	.64	.73	.07	.82	.40	.63	.57	.77	-.030
IT-18	.63	.65	.20	.81	.31	.76	.64	.62	-.033
SP-30	.72	.70	.07	.74	.35	.59	.62	.81	-.092
IT-16	.50	.75	.13	.71	.32	.67	.63	.92	-.092
SP-18	.61	.72	.04	.90	.43	.44	.67	.72	-.124
SP-26	.67	.66	.18	.75	.30	.46	.81	.81	-.128
IT-28	.55	.66	.11	.73	.41	.60	.67	.72	-.220
IT-07	.60	.68	.15	.80	.46	.42	.69	.66	-.225
SP-15	.66	.86	.16	.86	.41	.34	.35	.87	-.236
IT-29	.55	.69	.06	.57	.49	.52	.83	.74	-.265
SP-14	.62	.74	.05	.85	.34	.52	.59	.63	-.285
SP-12	.65	.65	.02	.67	.25	.73	.64	.73	-.290
IT-12	.56	.51	.18	.76	.45	.53	.50	.80	-.303
SP-09	.58	.76	.00	.76	.48	.58	.32	.68	-.384
IT-13	.65	.46	.02	.61	.35	.42	.71	.79	-.575
IT-09	.68	.43	.05	.82	.40	.41	.41	.66	-.610
SP-04	.55	.57	.00	.82	.26	.45	.57	.62	-.662
IT-23	.53	.41	.08	.69	.38	.60	.46	.56	-.727
IT-24	.52	.45	.13	.78	.24	.45	.59	.57	-.789
IT-08	.53	.21	.00	.95	.10	.52	.53	.64	-.851
SP-08	.45	.61	.15	.83	.33	.36	.26	.64	-.875
SP-02	.56	.42	.05	.70	.37	.48	.47	.33	-.997
SP-21	.42	.36	.00	.72	.23	.70	.52	.31	-1.035
SP-25	.50	.31	.00	.61	.31	.51	.24	.82	-1.064
SP-22	.72	.49	.00	.49	.30	.46	.42	.43	-1.126
SP-35	.29	.16	.00	.33	.15	.33	.05	.43	-2.396
Mean	.67	.71	.24	.78	.42	.57	.60	.76	
Standard Deviation	.15	.22	.23	.12	.13	.12	.17	.17	

accords well with our intuitions about the syntactic elaborateness of our informants and that the highest syntactic index values among them approach those of the group of dialect speakers we analysed for the sake of comparison.

On the basis of the ranking presented, the individual values of speakers can now be collapsed to group values which reflect a kind of 'group competence' of shared syntactic knowledge. According to the purpose of such a grouping, the sample of 48 speakers can be

subdivided into groups of 24,12,8,6,4 and 2 speakers. But I will not discuss this problem here.

Beyond the possibility of subdividing the sample into groups of different size, the determination of the informants' rank on the syntactic scale provides a basis for the isolation of stages in which syntactic features are acquired. This is shown in Table 4 for five rules of the verbal group (rules 4.1 - 4.5 in Fig. 2).

TABLE 4. ORDERING OF 48 LEARNERS BY SYNTACTIC INDEX FOR FIVE VERB PHRASE RULES (ABSOLUTE FREQUENCES)

		VERB PHRASE IS REALIZED AS				
	INFORMANT	VERB	AUX+VERB	MOD+VERB	AUX+MOD+VERB	CopV
01	SP-35	15	-	-	-	-
02	SP-22	49	-	-	-	-
03	SP-25	31	-	-	-	-
04	SP-21	36	-	-	-	-
05	SP-02	40	-	-	-	2
06	SP-08	52	1	1	-	7
07	IT-08	21	-	-	-	-
08	IT-23	24	-	2	-	-
09	SP-04	57	-	-	-	-
10	IT-09	38	1	-	-	1
11	IT-13	45	-	1	-	-
12	IT-24	51	-	-	-	3
13	SP-09	76	-	-	-	-
14	IT-12	42	-	9	-	-
15	SP-12	64	1	-	-	-
16	SP-14	30	-	3	-	1
17	IT-29	65	1	1	-	2
18	SP-15	65	2	4	-	6
19	IT-07	58	6	1	-	3
20	IT-28	59	1	2	-	4
21	SP-26	54	6	1	-	5
22	SP-18	69	-	1	-	2
23	IT-16	65	3	2	-	5
24	SP-30	65	-	1	-	4
25	IT-18	53	2	10	-	1
26	IT-32	68	-	5	-	-
27	SP-36	57	1	14	-	-
28	IT-05	58	-	3	-	9
29	IT-26	69	-	8	-	1
30	SP-01	40	1	15	-	11
31	IT-25	48	-	2	-	23
32	IT-15	60	-	11	-	11
33	SP-13	66	1	4	-	8
34	SP-06	54	13	6	-	14
35	IT-20	69	9	9	-	4
36	IT-33	36	2	13	-	39
37	IT-06	47	24	4	-	21
38	IT-10	51	16	5	-	20
39	SP-17	50	2	2	-	31
40	SP-24	52	24	11	-	11
41	IT-02	47	11	7	-	23
42	IT-22	55	14	2	-	23
43	SP-31	43	19	2	-	28
44	SP-19	43	28	9	-	20
45	SP-29	34	23	7	-	24
46	IT-31	40	27	15	-	18
47	SP-11	11	59	3	3	24
48	IT-01	17	57	8	3	12

On the basis of Table 4, the following statements with regard to the learning of verb phrase rules can be made. Sentences are composed in the first phase of learning of simple verbs only. Then, there is an increasing use of the copula and modal verbs. An extensive and frequent use of the auxiliary may be noticed in the second part of the data for the advanced learners (two thirds of the speakers show very little use of the auxiliary). Only the two most advanced learners use the complex verb group Aux + Mod + V.

Such statements based on the ordering of speakers according to the cumulative index are, however, not satisfying. SP-08 for example, applying copula, modal and auxiliary, is ranked significantly lower than SP-09 using only simple verbs in a high proportion. There are many other examples showing the same effect: speakers are differentiated by the quantitative value of the cumulative index attached to them, but not by the criterion of 'presence vs. absence' of a single rule. It seems to be evident that SP-08 knows a little "more" about the syntax of the German verb phrase than SP-09. Therefore, it seems to be a better procedure to rank the speakers hierarchically according to 'presence vs. absence' of rules.

This will be attempted in the next section by establishing implicational scales.

4.2 Ordering by Implicational Scales

The same syntactic data presented in Table 4 are rearranged in Table 5. The order clearly follows an implicational pattern.

"An implicational analysis is a binary relation between linguistic features and language varieties (dialects, styles etc.) so selected and so arrayed, as to result in a triangular matrix. Such a triangular matrix obviously does not accomodate just any random set of features. Every pair of features implies an empty cell, i.e. for any pair of features M_i, M_j $(i>j)$, only three of the four possible combinations occur" (DeCamp 1971:33). If the value of any desired point of intersection of the matrix, the product of M x V (cf. Table 5), is '+', then this implies that any value above or to the left of this value is also '+'. A value of '0' implies that every value below or to the right of it is likewise '0'" (cf. Dittmar 1976:153).

TABLE 4. IMPLICATIONAL SCALE-ORDERING OF 48 ADULT LEARNERS ILLSTRATED ON FIVE VERB PHRASE RULES+

VARIETY		INFORMANT	VERB	MODAL VERB + VERB	COPULATIVE VERB	AUXILIARY + VERB	AUXILIARY + MODAL VERB + VERB
V_1	01	SP-35	15	-	-	-	-
	02	IT-08	21	-	-	-	-
	03	SP-15	31	-	-	-	-
	04	SP-21	36	-	-	-	-
	05	IT-09	40	-	-	-	-
	06	SP-02	42	-	-	-	-
	07	SP-22	49	-	-	-	-
	08	SP-04	57	-	-	-	-
	09	SP-12	65	-	-	-	-
	10	SP-09	76	-	-	-	-
V_2	11	SP-14	71	3	-	-	-
	12	IT-23	24	2	-	-	-
	13	IT-13	45	1	-	-	-
	14	IT-12	42	9	-	-	-
	15	IT-32	68	5	-	-	-
	16	IT-26	70	8	-	-	-
V_3	17	IT-24	51	-	3	-	-
	18	SP-30	65	1	4	-	-
	19	IT-29	66	1	2	-	-
	20	SP-15	67	4	6	-	-
	21	IT-28	60	2	4	-	-
	22	SP-18	69	1	2	-	-
	23	IT-18	55	10	1	-	-
	24	IT-05	58	3	9	-	-
	25	IT-25	48	2	23	-	-
	26	IT-15	60	11	11	-	-
V_4	27	SP-36	57	14	-	1	-
	28	SP-01	40	13	11	1	-
	29	IT-07	58	1	6	3	-
	30	SP-08	52	1	7	1	-
	31	SP-13	66	4	8	1	-
	32	SP-17	50	2	31	2	-
	33	SP-26	54	1	5	6	-
	34	IT-16	65	2	5	3	-
	35	SP-06	55	6	15	11	-
	36	IT-20	69	9	5	8	-
	37	IT-33	26	9	39	5	-
	38	IT-06	47	4	21	24	-
	39	IT-02	50	7	23	8	-
	40	IT-22	55	2	23	14	-
	41	IT-31	40	15	18	27	-
	42	SP-31	44	2	28	18	-
	43	IT-10	52	5	20	15	-
	44	SP-24	52	11	11	24	-
	45	SP-19	43	9	21	27	-
	46	SP-29	34	7	24	23	-
V_5	47	SP-11	11	3	24	59	3
	48	IT-01	17	8	12	57	3

+ raw scores

TABLE 5. MODEL OF IMPLICATIONAL SCALE

Varieties	Features				
	M_1	M_2	M_3	M_4	M_5
V_1	+	+	+	+	+
V_2	+	+	+	+	o
V_3	+	+	+	o	o
V_4	+	+	o	o	o
V_5	+	o	o	o	o
V_6	o	o	o	o	o

Application and non-application of rules are given in Table 4 by absolute frequencies ('+'-value) and '-' (non-application). Only two speakers, IT-24 and SP-36, do not fit the implicational pattern. But I think that the regularity of the order is so well established that two exceptions among 48 are of no consequence. According to the "staircase-like" order of the speakers by application or non-application of verb phrase rules, we can distinguish five varieties or stages in the acquisition of the German verbal group:

V_1: simple verbs;

V_2: simple verbs and verbs modified by modals;

V_3: simple and copulative verbs and verbs modified by modals;

V_4: simple and copulative verbs and verbs modified by either modals or auxiliaries;

V_5: simple and copulative verbs, verbs modified by modals or auxiliaries, verbs modified by a modal and an auxiliary.

Hence, knowing to use auxiliaries presupposes the use of simple, copulative and modal verbs etc.

The implicational pattern may not only serve as a model to isolate hypothetically developmental stages, it is also useful for the grouping of speakers. The sample of 48 speakers can then be subdivided "naturally" into five groups by the criterion 'shared knowledge' of verb phrase constituents in German (defining criterion of a learner variety). Within the groups characterized by the application of a shared rule set, no particular order of the

individual speakers has been intended. Such an ordering of speakers within the groups cannot be established in a reasonable way without additional semantic criteria.

Table 6 shows the implicational ordering of speakers by subordinate clauses. Following the implicational pattern, we can assume that learners pass through three stages in learning subordinate clauses: adverbial clauses (V_1) are learned before nominal clauses, nominal clauses (V_2) before attributive (=relative) clauses (V_3). Once again, within the groups of speakers applying the same rule set, no order of individual speakers has been intended.

Is there a way of projecting separate implicational scales on a single, complex implicational scale which could give us an even more detailed and differentiated account of the syntactic stages learners pass through? I have tried to combine the Tables 4 and 6 into a single, complex implicational scale. In Table 7, speakers are differentiated in groups by subordinate clauses and the constituents of the verbal group. Speakers using only a simple verb are thus differentiated by application or non-application of adverbial clauses. The large group of 20 informants having learned to combine the verb with modals and auxiliaries is subdivided into three groups according to application or non-application of nominal clauses and attributive clauses. The picture that emerges is that progress in German syntax is associated with increasing syntactic complexity and differentiation.

The ten speakers at the bottom of the scale use mostly only simple verbs; only two among them are able to use adverbial phrases. The two speakers at the top of the scale, being closest to the German dialect, are able to use attributive clauses and to combine the verb with modals and auxiliaries, which implies that they also have a command of other constituents of the verb phrase and of other types of subordinate clauses.

The implicational pattern emerges well-established from Table 7. Among 384 cells, 377 follow the regular implicational pattern; the seven exceptions amount to only 2% of the overall pattern (they are marked by '⊖'). The three columns on the left side of the table account for three additional rules, i.e. whether a sentence contains or does not contain a subject and a verb and whether the nominal phrase consists in a pronoun or not. The values of these

TABLE 6. IMPLICATIONAL SCALE-ORDERING OF 48 ADULT LEARNERS ILLUSTRATED ON THREE TYPES OF SUBORDINATE CLAUSES[+]

VARIETY	INFORMANT	ADVERBIAL CLAUSE	NOMINAL CLAUSE	ATTRIBUTIVE CLAUSE
V_1	01 SP-35	-	-	-
	02 IT-08	-	-	-
	03 SP-25	-	-	-
	04 SP-21	-	-	-
	05 IT-09	-	-	-
	06 SP-02	-	-	-
	07 SP-22	-	-	-
	08 SP-04	-	-	-
	09 SP-14	-	-	-
	10 SP-30	-	-	-
V_2	11 SP-09	2	-	-
	12 SP-12	5	-	-
	13 IT-23	6	-	-
	14 IT-13	4	-	-
	15 IT-12	8	-	-
	16 IT-32	6	-	-
	17 IT-26	4	-	-
	18 IT-24	6	-	-
	19 IT-29	2	-	-
	20 SP-15	4	-	-
	21 IT-28	5	-	-
	22 SP-18	5	-	-
	23 IT-18	4	-	-
	24 IT-05	8	-	-
	25 SP-36	12	-	-
	26 SP-01	3	-	-
	27 IT-07	4	-	-
	28 SP-08	1	-	-
	29 SP-13	1	-	-
	30 SP-17	1	-	-
	31 SP-31	9	-	-
V_3	32 IT-25	4	3	-
	33 IT-15	8	6	-
	34 SP-26	5	2	-
	35 IT-16	9	3	-
	36 SP-06	4	3	-
	37 IT-20	13	1	-
	38 IT-33	1	8	-
	39 IT-06	6	1	-
	40 IT-02	5	2	-
	41 IT-22	8	3	-
	42 IT-31	14	3	-
V_4	43 IT-10	12	4	1
	44 SP-24	2	1	1
	45 SP-19	8	5	1
	46 SP-29	7	1	1
	47 SP-11	5	2	3
	48 IT-01	18	3	3

[+] raw scores

TABLE 7. IMPLICATIONAL SCALE-ORDERING OF 48 ADULT LEARNERS ILLUSTRATED ON ELEVEN SYNTACTIC RULES

GROUP/ LEARNER VARIETY		INFORMANT	S with SUBJECT		NP is a PRONOUN		S without V		VP is a V		ADV-CL	VP consists of Mod+V	VP consists of CopV	VP consists of Aux+V	S is a NOM-CL	S is a ATT-CL	Aux+Mod+V
	01	SP-35	27	X̄	12	X̄	78	X̄	15		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	02	IT-08	53		10		79		21		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	03	SP-21	42		26		64		36		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
I : V_1	04	SP-25	50		35		69		31		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	05	SP-02	56	53	43	28	58	63	42		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	06	IT-09	64		40		54		40		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	07	SP-04	55		26		43		57		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	08	SP-22	72		32		51		49		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
II : V_2	09	SP-12	65	61	27	37	35	30	65		5	-	-	-	-	-	-
	10	SP-09	58		46		24		76		2	-	-	-	-	-	-
	11	SP-14	62		37		26		71		(-)	3	-	-	-	-	-
	12	IT-23	34		28		38		24		6	2	-	-	-	-	-
	13	IT-12	56		49		49		42		8	9	-	-	-	-	-
III : V_3	14	IT-13	65	56	42	46	54	36	45		4	1	-	-	-	-	-
	15	IT-26	57		67		22		70		4	8	-	-	-	-	-
	16	IT-32	64		52		27		68		6	5	-	-	-	-	-
	17	IT-24	59		29		45		52		6	(-)	2	-	-	-	-
	18	SP-30	72		43		30		65		(-)	1	4	-	-	-	-
	19	IT-28	55		39		34		60		5	2	4	-	-	-	-
	20	IT-29	55		47		31		66		2	1	2	-	-	-	-
	21	IT-18	63		39		34		55		4	10	1	-	-	-	-
IV : V_4	22	SP-18	61	63	53	45	28	29	69		5	1	2	-	-	-	-
	23	IT-25	67		66		27		48		3	2	23	-	(3)	-	-
	24	IT-05	72		48		29		58		8	3	9	-	-	-	-
	25	IT-15	63		41		18		60		8	11	11	-	(6)	-	-
	26	SP-15	59		40		13		67		4	4	6	-	-	-	-
	27	SP-36	65		42		28		57		12	14	(-)	1	X̄	-	-
	28	SP-08	45		31		39		52		1	1	7	1		-	-
	29	IT-07	60		51		32		58		4	1	6	3		-	-
V : V_5	30	SP-01	62	66	47	50	33	24	40		3	15	11	1	2	-	-
	31	SP-13	72		51		21		66		1	4	8	1		-	-
	32	SP-17	91		75		15		50		1	2	31	2		-	-
	33	IT-16	50		31		25		65		9	2	5	3	3	-	-
	34	SP-26	67		40		34		54		5	1	5	6	2	-	-
	35	SP-06	61		61		13		55		4	6	15	11	3	-	-
	36	IT-20	70		62		9		69		13	9	5	8	1	-	-
VI : V_6	37	IT-02	74	73	70	64	12	12	50		5	7	23	8	2	-	-
	38	IT-33	77		61		10		26		1	10	39	5	8	-	-
	39	IT-06	82		76		4		47		6	4	21	24	1	-	-
	40	IT-22	84		89		5		55		8	2	23	14	3	-	-
	41	IT-31	95		87		-		40		14	15	18	37	3	-	-
	42	IT-10	73		71		8		52		12	5	20	15	4	1	-
	43	SP-29	76		70		1		34		7	7	24	23	1	1	-
VII : V_7	44	SP-31	85	83	62	75	3	3	44		9	2	28	18	21	(-)	2	-
	45	SP-24	85		88		2		52		2	11	11	24	1	1	-
	46	SP-19	94		83		-		43		8	9	21	27	5	1	-
VIII : V_8	47	SP-11	95	98	83	90	-	0	11		5	3	24	59	58	3	2	3
	48	IT-01	100		96		-		17		18	8	12	57		12	3	3

ADV-CL = Adverbial Clause
ATT-CL = Attributive Clause
NOM-CL = Nominal Clause
S = Sentence
NP = Nominal Phrase
VP = Verbal Phrase
V = Verb
CopV = Copulative Verb
Aux = Auxiliary
Mod = Modal Verb
V_1 = Variety
X̄ = Mean Value

three columns do not fit into an implicational pattern in the categorical sense[14], but the frequencies of rule applications correlate significantly with the differentiation of the learning process illustrated by the right side of the table. Speakers who use only simple verbs, drop to a large extent subjects and verbs from sentences and use very few pronouns. At the other extreme, the two most elaborated informants never use sentences without verbs, construct their sentences almost always with a subject and use pronouns in the function of nominal phrases at a high rate.

The differences between the learners at the bottom of the table and those at the other extreme are also well reflected by the implicational pattern of the mean values ($\bar{X}$) of the absolute frequencies we calculated for each group of speakers applying a shared set of rules. In the case of sentences without verb, the 'lowest' group drops the verb predominantly, whereas the most developed two speakers construct sentences with verbs categorically. The other groups are somewhat in between these extremes. The mean values of the application of the auxiliary rule (fourth column from the right side of the table) show a very clear pattern: the use of the auxiliary increases considerably with the advanced level in second language competence.

In contrast to Tables 4 and 6, speakers within groups are ordered in Table 7 according to the frequency with which they use a subject and a verb in a sentence. Thus, speakers belong to a group by shared presence and absence of rules and are differentiated within groups by application frequencies of subjects and verbs in sentences. The two frequency values are combined into a single value (which is not given in the table). I refrain from any interpretation of the group-internal ordering. All it does is reflecting the need for additional criteria in order to classify the informants within the group in some systematic way. The criterion 'omission of verb and subject in sentences' seems - in comparison with others - to be a valuable one because the presence of these two features is strongly required in German and their omission is highly stigmatized. In addition, they are strongly correlated with other rules substantially marking the learning process.

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[14] But it should not be overlooked that the scores could be ordered implicationally by frequency values. In fact, I have done that for the eight learner varieties of Table 7 in calculating the mean values ($\bar{X}$) for each group.The implicational pattern is predominantly regular.

In summary, Table 7 illustrates that the representation of developmental stages by implicational scales seems to offer a promising model. Learners were ordered implicationally by eight syntactic rules. The implicational pattern emerged predominantly regular. In addition, three other important syntactic rules (the three columns at the left side of Table 7) were incorporated in the table. The mean values of their application frequencies show with three exceptions (concerning mostly the learner varieties V_2 and V_3) a quantitative implicational pattern which demonstrates clearly the move of the learner varieties towards the norms of the local German vernacular.

5. DISCUSSION

We can conclude from the presentation in the preceding paragraph that ordering adult learners by implicational scales is more satisfying and superior to that by a cumulative index with regard to the following points:

1. learners can be ranked hierarchically by the two criteria: (a) application and non-application of rules, and (b) application frequencies;
2. learner groups and learner varieties can be defined by 'shared set of rule applications';
3. developmental stages can be derived from the implicational ordering in a clear-cut way.

However, one might be sceptical about whether implicational scales could constitute a thorough and valuable tool for ranking speakers hierarchically in the long run. Up to now, many problems remain unsolved, among them at least the following:

1. Is it possible to apply implicational scales to a large amount of data? We applied the method in our study to eight rules. What would happen if we would like to apply it for instance to 50 rules?
2. How do we deal with rules or features which do not fit the implicational pattern?
3. Are there some significant means for combining 'categorical' and 'variable' implicational scales (based for example on thresholds of frequencies)?

4. Are implicational scales a mere practical (but artificial) construct or can they be interpreted or even supported by psycholinguistic arguments in a meaningful way?

Progress with the applicability of implicational scales to the ordering of speakers according to language abilities will largely depend on answers to these question.

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Discussion

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas: How did you chose those sentences which you used for the analysis?

Norbert Dittmar : We selected for transcription those passages where the informants spoke a longer time without interruption by the interviewers.

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas: But then you know nothing about how representative for the syntactic competence of the speaker that particular passage was?

Norbert Dittmar : The problem lies in the number of sentences you include in your analysis. We started with 50 sentences per informant and then added another 50 sentences and compared the results of the two analyses. We found then some stability and therefore based our analysis on 100 sentences per informant.

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas: I think that is justified if you just think of occurrence or non-occurrence of a rule, not if you think of frequencies.

Norbert Dittmar : You are right, I think, as far as detailed studies of certain features - for example modal verbs, pronouns, etc. - are concerned, and we have indeed taken the whole interview recording for detailed studies. But for the syntactic description which bases itself on a very rough grammar, 100 sentences seem to be sufficient for a first look at the different varieties.

Hans Barkowski : I have a basic problem concerning the Heidelberg project as well as the Wuppertal project: You both say that you have the intention to improve language teaching for immigrant workers, and you both say that social and psychological factors are very relevant and make language acquisition as bad or as

good as we find it in your data collection. But if I act as a teacher I am confronted with different factors influencing the learning process, and it is not at all sure that the so-called undirected language acquisition you are analyzing is similar to the directed one. For, the langauge acquisition process you are analyzing is as directed as the language acquisition by instruction. With your data, maybe you can find out some global information about how learning goes on, you can maybe interpret some universal problems of undirected learning. That could be the motivation for your work. But if you want to improve instruction, you can't do that without giving instruction.

Norbert Dittmar : I can't give a satisfying answer to your problem. Starting the project, our intention was to provide some data for teachers, to improve the teaching situation. And we think that an analysis of the undirected language acquisition could give some hints to a better understanding of language learning and could serve as a basis for the elaboration of teaching material.

Jürgen Meisel : I am very thankful that you brought up this point and I'd like to answer to it. The basic problem we have is that the people you work with in second language teaching are different from the usual second language learners. They do already have some knowledge of the language they are about to learn in the classroom. And if your work in the classroom is in any way serious, you have to know what is brought into the class. If there is reason to believe that in language learning there is a certain probability for certain things to be learnt next, then we would have to know whether there is any possibility to make predictions like: what comes next and with what probability does it come. And within

the courses, we have to coordinate what the learners have learnt or might be able to learn without help, and where the teacher can help.
You're correct in saying that we have to see what changes, to see what instruction changes - but to see this, you have to know what is changed and you first have to look at that.
But to come back to Norbert's paper: The basic problem I have with the kind of rules you use is the way you treat your rules. I am very sceptical about grouping rules together. I get the impression that you then cannot see any more what is going on, because the individual fact is lost in the cluster. We talked about psychological plausibility - that is a very vague concept - but I cannot find those clusters psychologically plausible. If you assume one rule with a verb and one without a verb and if you then say that in the acquisition process someone learns that German has verbs.....

Norbert Dittmar : It is very difficult to have evidence whether a learner's concept of word classes coincides with word classes in German. "arbeit(e)" for example stands where a German speaker would use a verb as well as where a noun would be used.

Jürgen Meisel : There is no European language which has no verbs and nobody will start to learn German with the assumption that it has no verbs. The trouble is that you have phrase structure rules, so you are bound to deal with it as an acquisitional process from the beginning. And since you treat it that way, you cannot say any more than with or without. With another method, with transformation rules for example, you can include the context. And learning depends on the linguistic context, which you cannot cover with context free rules. And then, your

implicational scales - what do they mean? It seems to me that having a very complex verb cluster quite naturally includes having less complex clusters. But it does apparently not mean that this is the way how acquisition proceeds.

Norbert Dittmar : I agree with your first point, the clustering of the rules. It is, of course, no satisfying procedure to put rules together because, linguistically, they are distinct, and they should be treated in this way. Our problem was the evaluation of rules: Are there some criteria which help to decide that one rule is more important than another?
Context free rules are restricted and must be completed by other components of linguistic description - for example transformational rules which we used in word order analysis. As to psychological plausibility I am very scrupulous. I prefer to restrict myself in the first phase of research to the linguistic facts and social variables which are involved in the learning process.

Jürgen Meisel : I am surprised that you have such an agnostic position in this case. Certain things like, for example, the deletion of the verb, do not just express the process of acquiring a verb, during the learning process you find strategies - simplification, complication, etc. - which are dropped by the time.

Norbert Dittmar : A last word on implicational scales: They are only a kind of hypothesis and, of course, I cannot directly deduce from the profile study to a developmental sequence. To do this we need a longitudinal study.

Frank Müller : If I understood your scale correctly, then it is a combined index - and it combines the frequency of single rules with the disposition of general rules or rule clusters. I am not sure now whether your

index has a meaningful reading or whether it is just trivial - trivial in that sense that it is just normal that somebody using complex forms can quite logically use less complex forms also. The developmental reading of your diagram would then be that the acquisitionprocess indicates a general differentiation of rules - like it was stated in first language acquisition models ten years ago, by Mc Neill for example.

Norbert Dittmar : We find for example that informants with a rudimentary verbal competence perform the auxiliary "haben" as main verb, and not yet as tense marker like informants with increased competence.
It would surely be more sufficient if it were possible to plot more than one scale in the same implicational pattern - to have thus a broader view of grammatical process. We have no possibility up to now to say something about the dependency of different rules to one another; there are only some presuppositions, for example that in the case of subordinate sentences there must be an element in the main clause to which you can attach those sentences, etc. It is important also to describe the dependency of rules.

Manfred Pienemann : Is it correct that you ordered your informants according to applying or not-applying rules?

Norbert Dittmar : Yes, but only within the scale, if they applied the same rules. We took the syntactic index as a help to order them, but that is only a more or less arbitrary help.

Manfred Pienemann : But then - what does it say? First I thought that you have found an order of speakers with your syntactical index and then you have tried whether you find an implicational scale according to this order. If you did not do that, you could have taken any 48 speakers and find the same implicational scale.

Jürgen Meisel : Speakers are ordered different in your index and in the scale. On what stages are they then? Or does the scale not say anything about stages? If it does not - what does it say?

Some remarks on foreigner talk

Michael Clyne, Monash University

1. It is to Jürgen Meisel's credit that he has initiated the study of German "foreigner talk" as a topic independent of Guest Worker German (Meisel 1975, 1977). He argues (1977) that GWG (the German spoken by guest workers) is not an imitation of FT (what Germans speak to guest workers) as guest workers have relatively little opportunity to hear it, and that FT is not an imitation of GWG as FT is also spoken to foreigners who have mastered German. Meisel thus casts doubt on the analogy between the German situation and Bloomfield's (1933:473) "compromise between a foreign speaker's version of a language and a native speaker's version of the foreign speaker's version, and so on, in which each party imperfectly reproduces the other's reproduction" that was suggested in Clyne (1968). However, Meisel (1975) does refer to strong similarities between GWG and FT. In both cases there is general simplification as is shown also in comparisons with English, French and Finnish FT (Meisel 1977). These agree with comparisons showing similarities between GWG and Australian industrial immigrant talk[1] (Clyne 1975) and also with simplification tendencies in pidgin and creole languages (see e.g. Hymes 1969, Bickerton 1975). As Meisel (1977: 88-89) admits, criteria of simplification are not clear-cut. One might ask, for instance, why the *du*-form is preferred in both GWG and FT when it entails more morphological rules than the *Sie*-form.

2. In a study of the ungrammatical English utterances of 35 migrant workers in spontaneous communications in the work situation in Melbourne and of seven foremen speaking to them[2], the following differences emerged:

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1 This term was coined by Gilbert (1978) to avoid the issue of the existence of a pidgin.

2 Small part of a research project on Multilingualism in Australia.

	MIGRANT WORKERS	FOREMEN
(1) Ellipsis	33 (8.75 %)	13 (17.57 %)
(2) Copula deletion	30 (8 %)	11 (14.86 %)
(3) Subject-pronoun deletion	76 (20.3 %)	7 (9.46 %)
(4) Incongruence, or generalizations of one verbal form	96 (25.6 %)	17 (23.07 %)
(5) Non-inversion of verb	2 (0.53 %)	1 (1.35 %)
(6) Aux-deletion	88 (23.5 %)	14 (18.92 %)
(7) Article deletion	25 (6.67 %)	6 (8.11 %)
(8) Object pronoun deletion	7 (1.87 %)	2 (2.7 %)
(9) *Me* for *I*	16 (4.27 %)	-
For for *to*	1 (0.53 %)	3 (4.05 %)
	373	73

The data were drawn from cassettes recorded in 7 companies (two each producing cars and automotive equipment, and one each producing cables, electrical appliances, and panty hose). The L1s of the workers were: Serbo-Croatian (8), Greek (7), Italian (5), Turkish (5), Spanish (3), Macedonian (2), and Arabic, Hungarian, Polish, Portuguese and Swiss-German (one each). Phenomena in 3 and 7 in I.I.T. (total: 101 instances) can perhaps be attributed to L1 interference. 1, 2, 4, 8 and 9 (total: 182 instances) cannot be due to L1 interference as they would be ungrammatical in L1, while 5 and 6 (90 instances) could be explained by either interference or other factors. The seven foremen comprised four Australians of English-speaking Australian parents, a German who migrated as a young man and, apart from very slight phonological interference, has mastered Australian English, and two Englishmen who came to Australia in their youth. It should be noted that ellipsis and article deletion are more common in FT and subject pronoun and auxiliary deletion predominate in I.I.T. The high number of instances of phenomena attributed to "L1 interference" in the FT of people who do not know the language(s)

concerned could be explained by a general tendency towards reduction. But they could also be attributed to imitation or the spread of I.I.T.

Of the seven foremen, the 4 Australians and the German use a purely syntactically-marked FT and the two English-born ones employ a FT which is both phonologically and syntactically marked. Having migrated at the age of 12 and 18 respectively, they have already had to adjust their speech habits once (from regional British to Australian English)and are now repeating this imitation and role-play. One of them imitates Greek phonology and intonation in his FT, the other reproduces Serbo-Croatian English (see Clyne 1977:51).

As most of the informants interact largely with other non-English speakers but acquire most of their English at work, their "interlanguage" grammars influence one another (examples: Clyne 1977:52). This could <u>also</u> produce an effect on FT. In both cases we are concerned with the influence of the language of migrant workers on FT. Of course one should not transfer conclusions from one speech community to another, but the phonological marking of some German FT (J. Meisel, personal communication) does suggest parallels, and German speakers have been offered a model of "how foreigner talk" and "what foreigners understand", e.g. in some of Karl May's widely-read novels.

3. In many immigrant families in Australia, children who were young at the time of migration or who were born in Australia speak English FT to their parents and other relatives of their parents' generation, and often also migrant friends of their parents or even to all people whose English is phonologically marked as "foreign", <u>but</u> normal AE to their peer group and to monolingual Australians. The FT is marked both phonologically and syntactically with transfers common in the parents' English but is often spoken also to people with other Lls. In some families where the parents do not show traces of L1 experience in their English, FT is spoken to the grandparents. However,

many children who employ FT to their parents address their grandparents in the ethnic language. In one Hungarian family we have studied, two brothers and their three cousins use FT to their parents, uncles and aunts, and friends of their parents. Two of them are doctors, one a dentist, and one a solicitor. They employ FT also to non-English-speaking migrant patients or clients whose English is heavily marked phonologically. The brothers speak Hungarian to their maternal grandparents. The cousins have no grandparents in Australia. Katz (1977) showed that the better the migrant interlocutor has learned the target language, the less FT is syntactically marked and the more it is phonologically marked. Primary school age children learning German in Australia will sometimes address in English FT teachers whom they normally have to address in German when their limited German prevents them from expressing themselves adequately.

The phonologically marked FT of the second generation could be explained in two ways. Either it corresponds to the phonological interference which originally marked the speaker's speech in the target language (and which he has overcome due to the flexibility of his speech habits, cf. Penfield and Roberts 1959, Krashen 1976, Rosansky 1975); or it is a means of identifying with the speech partner (what Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) term convergence). Some of our informants claim, however, that their parents (and other recipients of FT) would not understand them if they spoke "normal AE" (although they do not seem to experience much difficulty in communicating with other Australians). Several migrant workers have reported that they can understand those foremen who use phonologically marked FT better than others. That is, phonological marking has communication as well as identification function.

4. Just as GWG is not just a variety but a set of varieties (as the Heidelberger Forschungsgruppe 1975 has convincingly shown), so is German FT. We even have to distinguish between

the FT used by Germans in the Federal Republic and the FT spoken by English people in the Federal Republic to Germans. The first factor in the description of FT would be:

(1) FT of the foreign or the indigenous speaker?

Here we see a link between GWG and FT, for there is potential for relexification.

Other important factors would be:

(2) Marking of the FT - syntactic, phonological, or both.

(3) Ethnicity or race of the foreigner.

Valdman (1977) has demonstrated that French FT varies according to whether the foreigners being addressed is black or white. While Japanese who speak perfect German often trigger off FT by their appearance, Germans usually take a great deal of trouble to make themselves understood to English (and French) speakers through slow, loud speech, sometimes even by a switch to the foreigner's L1. (Cf. Bodemann and Ostow (1975:145) who stress the class aspect of FT). This is connected with the relative status of the languages and national groups and could well be examined in relation to the type of information to which speakers of particular foreign languages (e.g. English, Turkish) are given access.

(4) Age and status of the interlocutor

We have seen that workers will sometimes be adressed by their superiors in FT (Clyne 1968, but cf. Meisel 1977), but that parents and other older, respected members of the family are also spoken to in this variety. However, it could be claimed that in this situation the parents have assumed the role of "subordinates", who are being "talked down to". In any case, FT is certainly used by younger speakers to older ones as well as the other way around.

It would be interesting if each of these aspects of FT could be explained through videotapes of communication

between indigenous and foreign speakers with various Lls in each of the countries represented at this symposium. Among other things, this could throw some light on the relationship between grammatical reduction and non-verbal phenomena, such as gestures. It could also demonstrate the connection between FT used and the social status of particular ethnic groups in each of the countries. If indigenous speakers with different socioeconomic and educational backgrounds could be videotaped while watching such videotapes of FT, their non-verbal reactions of approval and disapproval could be correlated with direct questioning as to their attitudes to the FT employed. This would get over the problem of some speakers who use FT not admitting it or not being able to give instances (cf. Ferguson 1975).

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D i s c u s s i o n

Jacob Mey : Do you see any relation between baby talk and foreigner talk?
One of my children has a friend who is three years younger than himself and who has a speech defect - he speaks an r-less Norwegian. I've noticed that when my son talks to animals - dogs, sheep -, he speaks this r-less Norwegian to these animals, too. The link-up has to be something like 'something below yourself', animal, dog... and foreigner.

Michael Clyne : I think the whole concept of baby talk has the underlying assumption that the baby is some inferior human being as far as linguistic indices are concerned. Ferguson has written several articles where he compares the indices and comes to very close similarities between the two.

Nina Thorsen : That foreigner talk which is phonologically marked, is it phonologically marked just segmentally or is it marked prosodically as well?

Michael Clyne : Prosodically, too, particularly in the case of Hungarian, for instance. I'm terribly sorry, but I'm not properly prepared for this. If I'd known I'd have brought some tapes with me from Australia. But I've got some tapes which bring that out very clearly, particularly the stress.

Jacob Mey : Have you any idea about whether foreigner talk exists in other situations than talking about everyday things, like giving a paper at a meeting, ...

Michael Clyne : No.

Jacob Mey : Why not? What's wrong with the idea?

Michael Clyne : Do you mean the 'pidgin' (in inverted commas) spo-

ken by the immigrant or do you mean, say, an Australian giving a talk to a mixed audience the majority of whom are non-English speakers?

Jacob Mey : The latter case.

Michael Clyne : I think one of the reasons why this wouldn't happen is that the person would be quite ashamed of himself. It would be his job to see to it that the other people get a good model of English, whereas the foreman in the industrial situation is partly 'talking down' to the fellow workers, and partly trying to make it easier. The rationale is: he is trying to make it easier for those poor ignorant foreigners who can't understand normal Australian English.
To come back to your question - I can't explain it, but if I ever strike an example of it, I'll certainly let you know.

Jacob Mey : Were you doing anything to prevent us from being distracted by your Australian English? Or is it just the way you talk all the time? Are you aware of the fact that you have an Australian English or .... (laughter) Have you been trying to talk to us as if we couldn't understand you?

Michael Clyne : No. Never. I probably talk too fast anyway.

Jacob Mey : I'm aware myself that I talk very fast and when I know that people are not familiar with my language, I try to slow down. It's not exactly foreigner talk, but it has something to do with it.

Michael Clyne. : The main thing Australians do when they meet a foreigner is to shout, because they assume that all foreigners are deaf. The second thing may be that they speak more slowly, perhaps stress endings a little more. I don't think that my English changed when I gave this talk.

Jürgen Meisel : The main question remains open: In which situation does foreigner talk imply talking down? Sometimes it's obvious, but it doesn't seem to be the case all the time.

Michael Clyne : I don't think people talk down because they want to talk down. I think they talk down because there is this poor foreigner who can't understand it unless I change my language. In a way it's the same as baby talk. The baby can't understand normal English, or German, or Danish, whatever it is. The foreigner cannot understand the normal register, so you change your register. It's not talking down in the sense that you're saying that person is below you - he just hasn't got the language, and you've got to talk down to him.

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas: Is foreigner talk always 'talking down'? What about other cases where you modify your speech? For instance, when I fly or come over by boat from Finland to Sweden, I change my pronunciation and some lexical items since I know that people have difficulty to understand Finnish Swedish. I still speak Swedish when I come over to Sweden, but it is different from the Swedish I speak in Finland. This kind of modification is not foreigner talk -

Michael Clyne : - it is a perfectly acceptable form of Swedish, because that's what they speak.

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas: Do you say that foreigner talk is not a perfectly acceptable form of Swedish, or German, or Danish or whatever?

Michael Clyne : Yes, it isn't. It's an imitation of an interlanguage in a way.
Well, it goes further. In Germany, people talk foreigner talk to everyone who looks foreign. I've heard

people speaking foreigner talk to Japanese professors, who spoke very good German.

There is a nice story about an African professor who came to Germany to give some lectures, and he had to give a lecture at a luncheon. He was sitting next to a German who said while they were eating, "Nyamnyam gut?" The African nodded. Then they drank something and the German said to the African, "Gluckgluck gut?", and the African nodded. Then the chairman announced Professor Dr. so-and-so from Nairobi who is now going to give his address, so this gentleman came forward and talked in perfect German. Then he went back to the person he was sitting next to, and said "Blabla gut?"

In some way you feel sorry for a foreigner, regardless of how he speaks, and you change your language accordingly. It is a different kind of accomodation from the convergency in a code-switching situation between two varieties or even two closely related languages.

Saeed Anjum : Is there any research available in any country as to <u>why</u> natives do such things with foreigners, like foreigner talk, baby talk, speaking loud?

Michael Clyne : I've asked people who use this register. I've asked children who talk this way to their parents, "Why do you do this?", and they always say, "Because they won't understand me any other way, because they are foreigners.". One could think of two possible explanations, first, that's the way my parents speak, and I'm part of my family; second, that the children have learnt English in that way in the first place. But the answer is invariably: "They won't understand me," even if the parents have no difficulties to understand other speakers of Australian English.

I've asked foremen in the factories, and they say,

"Because they won't understand it any other way." And I've asked workers, "Do you understand him when he speaks that way?" When there is phonological marking as well as syntactic one, they will say, yes. Where there there is syntactic one only, a lot of them say "no", and some of them say "yes".
In child-to-parent foreigner talk, there is always phonological marking, sometimes there is no syntactic marking, but usually it is both. So it would seem as if the phonological marking actually is in the interest of communication, it actually eases communication, but this doesn't seem to be the case with the syntactic simplification. Quite often, syntactic simplification leads to more difficulties in communication.

Norbert Dittmar : There is something which is constantly overlooked, and that is the connection between cooperation and foreigner talk, not only the connection between stigmatization and foreigner talk (of course, you might be stigmatized as someone who requires special cooperative efforts as a communication partner). There is a strong pressure for cooperation: some requests must be followed by social convention, e.g. if somebody asks you to show him the way, you will help him. On the other hand, if somebody asks you in the street, "I'm in a very miserable situation of my life, would you like to come with me and have a coffee and discuss it," you'll probably say No. But all people will help with showing the way etc. When Germans speak foreigner talk, they want to help foreigners, because they are obliged to help them anyway. The other point is: there's no strictly linguistic way of evaluating varieties, like it is the case with minority languages: you cannot say that the French spoken in the Jura is better or worse than the French spoken in France. It is a psychological or a socio-

logical problem that language varieties are judged and that some of them are felt to be inferior to others. Therefore, if somebody speaks a reduced variety, this might be felt as an offence by a person which is lower in the social hierarchy. Bodemann has a very good result here in his study of the communicative behavior of a shopkeeper: the shopkeeper spoke perfect German with a middle-class American, but some kind of foreigner talk with an Italian a couple of minutes later.

Frank Müller : I would like to come back to Bloomfield's interaction concept of a speaker adjusting himself to the supposed linguistic knowledge of the hearer, and to Jürgen Meisel's experiments with pseudo-pidgin used by German speakers. I don't think that it is easy to define foreigner talk in a strict way - its distribution is dependent on the cultural and political stereotypes of the speaker. If Bloomfield were right, a speaker would adjust just as much as is necessary to a hearer with defective knowledge, and would not speak classical foreigner talk.

Michael Clyne : That's why I suggest that a video tape would be a good way of finding out about this. We would have to have different foreigners, with different degrees of proficiency in the language concerned.

Frank Müller : But we should have some empirical research about this question - how German speakers adjust their language to the empirical deficiencies of the language of the immigrant. This would shed some light on the social basis of this category of foreigner talk.

Michael Clyne : Well, I mean, we can do this by using video tapes. We have to use these tapes in order to get the interaction completely. A lot depends on what the for-

eigner looks like, what kind of gestures are involved, and this kind of thing.

Some minimal requirements for the teaching of language to foreign workers

Jacob Mey, Odense University

I'll try to be brief, and I'll try to be as clear and as provocative as I can.

What's lacking in our discussions is what I have been trying to say in my paper (which I think is a rather bland paper, not written in a provocative style, but as it is, I have several comments, several feed-backs, that tend to make me believe that it <u>is</u> really a provocative paper after all, which perhaps I didn't mean it to be). O.K. If I'm going to be hanged, I might as well be hanged for a sheep as for a dog, so let me tell you what I think:

The problem of teaching foreign workers in any country is not a problem of good-will on the part of the teacher or good-will on the part of the taught. It is a problem of getting to know what the needs of these people are. That's what Börje Viberg said, too. Now, the question is, in teaching these people, do <u>I</u> decide what their needs are, or do I not? (This was the thing we discussed on the walk along the beach). I think in a way we decide, as teachers have to, to some extent, but it is not purely a matter of <u>subjective</u> choice. It is a matter of <u>objective</u> realities. Let me explain: the realities of life for foreign workers are such that they need language to be able to get out of those realities. For example: working conditions in a factory are often such that the foreign worker cannot accept them, and if he/she were a German worker or an English worker, speaking his/her mother tongue, he/she would not accept them. He/she would go to the foreman or to the management, and say: "Look, in such and such regulations such and such is said, and so many cubic feet of air have to be provided, if I paint with this spray-

gun. Now, there is only such and such an amount of cubic air. I don't want to work there. Otherwise, I'll go to my union, and we are going on strike." The foreign worker cannot say this, because he doesn't know the regulations. He can't read them, he can't express himself, he doesn't know anything about how to do these things in German or in English. The point, then, is that it is not just a matter of "doing things with words", but of knowing how to do things with words where and when and to whom. This is, I think, what we should teach these people. It is not a matter of subjectively deciding, what I think is nice for them to know. It is a fact that their material conditions of life are very bad, indeed among the worst in the whole country, and that these conditions have to be changed, and that nobody is going to change them, unless they do it themselves. This is what I think second language education for foreign workers is all about. This is as provocative as I can make it.
To give an illustration (I'm going to talk linguistics now): Norbert Dittmar said something this morning, which I remember more or less as follows: first, we have a linguistic rule which is unequivocal; then you describe it in social or psychological terms - forgive me if I'm not quoting you correctly, Norbert, but this is what I heard you say. Now, what I'm trying to figure out is: What is a rule, and: What kind of rules are we talking about? I think we're talking about the particular kind of rule that you, as a linguist, can put up. Of course, it is your right to use those rules and choose your framework, too. In this case you have chosen a phrase structure framework on the surface level. All right? O.K. then: the question I'm asking as a linguist is: aren't there any other models around, aren't there any other rules around, that you could use? What about using rules that are more semantically oriented? Can't we formulate the question in such a

way that we don't ask what (kind of) rules this person has acquired or not acquired, what stage of development she/he is in, but rather ask ourselves what he/she is trying to say, whether or not he/she is saying it, and whether or not he/she gets to being understood. Those questions have to be asked, and they are much more important than figuring out what rules a person is using. You see, where you're talking about acquisition of rules, I want to talk about acquisition of language. This involves competence, of course, but not an abstract competence; rather a concrete competence which has to do with the reality that I'm living in, or trying to get out of. Now, of course, again it's true what somebody (I think it was Manfred Pienemann) said to me on that same beach-walk, that you cannot do these things without having some rules. All right, but again the question I, as a linguist, have to ask is: Why this kind of rules? Aren't there any models around that give us a more direct representation of semantic realities? Take an example: Jürgen Meisel made a remark this morning about WH-movement rules: you either have them, he said, and then you move the WH-words around, or you don't have them, but you don't have them wrong. That means: you never move the WH-element to the middle of a phrase, for example. It's either where it used to be in the deep structure, or it is at the front of the sentence. Now, why is this so? Why does the WH-movement rule always happen the way it does: if it's there, it's always executed more or less correctly? I think this is very easy to understand, if you think of what WH-movement is about. It's about a request for information. As a question, it is directly related to some kind of - we might call it topic, which I'm asking the question about. And you know, of course, that there is a syntactic theory which has to do with topic

and comment. I think that such a theory could give an explanation of this phenomenon, the WH-movement rule, in a better way than just by considering questions at surface levels, as I think we are doing all the time. Well, this was the illustration. To a certain extent I would say that I'm in favor of doing descriptions by rules. But I think we should do things in such a way that we know what kind of rules we are using and writing, and that, in doing so, we should also ask the questions that I've started out asking, such as: What can we use the rules for? What kind of a linguistics is useful in teaching languages to foreign workers? That's what I'd like to discuss.

What language does the immigrant need?

Börje Viberg, Skövde

1. The familiar question: What is language? - two simple answers and some consequences

   a) Language is something which is talked about in terms of word classes, syntactic rules, phonological rules etc

   b) Language is a means of communicating knowledge, expressing wishes and feelings, and the like

   One correct answer being b+a, b however is of greater interest than a and thus the question that remains is: For what purposes does the immigrant need the language?

2. Two types of ordering what is to be learned, the theoretical premises and the practical outcomes

   Since my time is short, I prefer to drop p. 2 from my introduction.

3. On criterions for deciding what the immigrant should know - and therefore learn - and on motivation

   And the question remains: For what purposes....?
   I can see two ways along which answers can be sought, the two ways leading into definitely different directions.
   Way 1 tries to investigate the situations the immigrant "normally" is involved in and ends up at a place where it is possible to prescribe a language for communication in the situations thus found.
   Way 2 is not in the same way situational but starts by describing the immigrant's social, economical, cultural and the like situation, tries to value this, takes a position to it, and on this basis way 2 prescribes "the language" which is needed.
   Both ways are "political", reveal the attitudes of the answering people, but they are still qualitatively different.

While way 1 shows an accepting attitude to the immigrant's social conditions, way 2 involves a critical attitude.
Better: way 2 deals with goals like understanding of the social conditions and includes a critical approach in which valuation is highly valued and where questions to be formulated are - among others - the following ones:
How? Why? Has it always been that way? What is a likely future? Must it be that way? What is your opinion? What can we do?
I'm going to propagandize this second way.
This way is, too, in agreement with dynamic views on motivation, with motivational factors that can be trained, developed.
Shortly these views mean that motivation for studies profoundly depend on the student's

- understanding of the self
- understanding of society
- understanding of the conditions of his work and studies
- ability to imagine his future and the future
- ability to see the more important relations within the teaching
- competence achieved

4. <u>On motivation again: with respect to university teachers and researchers</u>

As long as there are links between
there will never be a neutral way.
So the research-making scientist too will have to choose a way for his research, and one criterion for his choice is related to the scientist's understandings and abilities mentioned under p 3.

5. <u>Further goals: my views about what immigrant teaching has to deal with</u>

On a more abstract level the criterions come frome the teacher's or scientist's attitudes to this p 5.
Whether we want it or not practice affects the human being in terms of attitudes, human or inhuman values. Therefore, everyone claiming to be intellectually respectable will have to state

the human values he wants his practice to strengthen - and then he will have to look for contents and ways of work which are in agreement with what he wants to stand for.
To this matter I think that there is no easier way than to answer in terms of what values you want the human beings to express. Here are some suggestions:
activity, creativity, solidarity, consciousness, critical attitude, equal-value, generosity, self-confidence.
What language is needed for these human values? One very simple answer is that if this question should be relevant "language" must not be interpreted too narrowly.

6. Creativity as the ability to see alternatives

There is always an alternative - better or worse. Let us look for the better ones. Research, teaching and life must not be what they are and so any human - humanistic - research, teaching and life must aim at the better alternatives - and create people who are inspired of this better will.
(Pathetically)

7. What it really is about

(Practically)
Investigate the world, investigate the structures which prohibit or reduce the space of the human values - and try to extend the possible. Talking about the immigrant worker he or she is in desperate need of this change of directions for teaching, research and other activities. This is what it really is about. Though these matters might seem strange, difficult to handle, far from the concrete we will have to start here - even though we in Sweden at least prefer to be more technical in our approaches. (How we have got there is another matter of investigation.)

8. On the correspondence between questions and answers

Simply: for us now, from now on, it is a matter of what we want, what we know and what we want to know and the answers we get to our questions depend on the questions. So what do we want to make research for?

9. My hope of being understood

I have tried to draw the picture of an alternative by means of an ideal human being and do mean that teaching must have goals no less than that.
What we can do here and now is to
a) try to understand
then
b) to criticize
and then
c) think of what can be done

If my introduction might seem somewhat provocative this fact is worth thinking about. But as I intended to provoke only the better parts of us I hope to be understood.

lo. Closing remarks and suggestions

Since I don't know too many of you I might have knocked in already opened doors. However, if we want to make language more a tool than an objective in itself - and a tool not for adjustment but for quite other objectives - we can start with the following - unordered - multilevel suggestions:
We can try to

- get an even better understanding of the immigrant's situation
- ask to what extent immigrant problems are immigrant problems
- make preliminary decisions about how immigrant education can contribute to the solving of immigrant problems
- say that linguistics as a subordinate discipline, can contribute in technical matters
- find other ways to contribute
- discuss by which means societies can be changed
- show that 24o hours' immigrant teaching is far from enough
- state the goals we really want to work for

What may be the use of linguistics? Instruction of adult immigrants in Denmark

Christian Becker-Christensen and Anne Marie Heltoft, Copenhagen

The immigrant situation in Denmark differs from that in most other European countries in that the range of immigrants is very wide. It is not possible to point out any dominating group. Immigrant workers - in the limited sense of the word, viz. immigrants holding jobs within the union area, serving as reserve labour - is not a dominating group. The importation of foreign labour - caused by the big boom of the sixties - started later and never became so extensive as in other European countries. This importation of labour more or less came to an end in 1970 when immigration from countries like Turkey, Yugoslavia, and Pakistan was almost stopped. Two years later another immigration accelerated as Denmark entered the Common Market. This immigration was far less systematic. EEc citizens entered the country for all sorts of reasons. Whereas the first group of immigrant workers (so-called guest workers) represented a fairly homogeneous group as to culture and mother tongue, the latter from the EEC countries is heterogenous as to social position and education. That goes for an other group too, namely the refugees, people who have left their native country for political or economic reasons. Parallel to this immigration, there has always been an exchange of Scandinavian citizens. For various reasons this has been far less spectacular and problematic.

We arrive at the conclusion that immigrants in Denmark form a very heterogeneous group as to nationality, social background, and education.

This of course has important implications for the instruction in Danish of foreigners. In the various schools where Danish is taught as a foreign language classes are very heterogeneous. This is also due to the fact that the Ministry of Education demands an average number of twelve pupils per class which makes it impossible to form small homogeneous classes.

No elaborated system exists in the instruction of Danish as a foreign language. There are few and rather poor textbooks and no real pedagogic grammars at all. This of course is due to the fact that there is no long tradition for Danish as a foreign language.

A textbook like Lær Dansk (Learn Danish) is based on surface grammatical structures and there is no connection between this organizing principle and what may be the communicative needs of the learners. Its texts are therefore very often unrealistic and irrelevant to the learners, e.g. the text where the structures of question and answer are presented, is a police interrogation of a thief who has stolen a car. The exercises of this Lær Dansk book are mainly morphological pattern drills like: han har en bil (he has a car), han har en god bil (he has a good car), det er et kontor (it is an office), det er et godt kontor (it is a good office), exercising adjective concord.

Through these exercises and texts the learners may acquire knowledge of grammatical structure. But it is very often difficult for the learner to transfer the command of these structures to the communicational situation in question. Often systems like Lær Dansk practise structures which are redundant in relation to the students' needs. And often they do not at all practise structures which are necessary in communication.

A book like Lær Dansk is an example of a textbook which sees language mainly as a self-contained system, and it is also an example which shows some of the negative consequences of this approach: the importance attached to linguistic forms at the expense of meaning and the relation to extralinguistic reality.

The dominance of formal criteria in syllabus organization is of course due to various dominating trends in linguistics: American and European structuralism as well as transformational grammar. The highly idealized basis for language description, and the stress on language as a psychological phenomenon has not inspired the advancement of a pedagogy which sees language as a means of communication.

Within the last decade, however, this paradigm has been changing, the criticism of transformational grammar being supported by sociolinguistics and case-grammar. And gradually the

socio-semantic conception of language is being adopted by those who are concerned with applied linguistics. But the view is still so new that it has not been applied to teaching material on a large scale.

The demand for a syllabus based, not on formal categories, but on pragmatic and semantic categories is of specific relevance in view of the definition of the target group of immigrants above. The special problems concerning this group are:

How should the syllabus be arranged to be suitable for the instruction of pupils with different mother tongues? And how should the syllabus be arranged to appeal to non-educated learners?

These questions can be translated into the following demands on the syllabus:

The syllabus must aim at a universal theory of linguistics as it must provide for different mother tongues.

The syllabus must be concrete in form: it must not presuppose any theoretical knowledge in the pupils and it must be related to the needs of the target group. This is a demand concerning motivation.

The syllabus must be explicit: it cannot presuppose intuitions concerning the target language.

We have in mind a syllabus consisting of a textbook (or a material for creating texts) including exercises and a grammar. At present we are mainly concerned with the presentation of a pedagogic grammar. We see such a grammar partly as an integrated part of the syllabus, partly as a prelimainary condition for the working out of the rest of the syllabus.

A syllabus which aims at communicative competence rather than the ability to produce well-formed sentences might in its form be a syllabus which - while still being based on surface structure - tries to embed drills and examples in social contexts.

In its strongest form the syllabus must be organized according to situation types. It goes without saying that the selection of situation types must be based on an analysis of the learners' needs, (the problem here is if the learners' needs

can at all be defined in generel).

The model which lends itself to such a system is Halliday's idea of semantic networks. One might thus imagine a textbook consisting of a systematic selection of communication situations. In these situations it is possible to express different meanings which are again connected with syntactic options. These semantic and syntactic options may be treated systematically in an independent grammar.

The preferable presentation in the textbook will be cyclical, starting with the less complicated options and over a number of lessons a great number of options belonging to a specific communication situation will have been introduced. It must be avoided that this fragmentation leads to absurd communication situations.

The textbook and the grammar must of course be adapted to each other. It is important that there is some degree of grammatical structuralization of the progression in the textbook in order that the connection to the grammar will not be too complicated.

The grammar of this system is a deep structure grammar based on semantic categories such as types of participants, tense, person, attitude, types of message etc., (cf. the catalogue of notional categories in D.A.Wilkins' Notional Syllabuses). G.Leech and J.Svartvik's A Communicative Grammar of English is something of that kind.

Such a grammar is a grammar is grammar of production. It enables the learner to find an answer to the question: how is this or that function or concept expressed in the target language.

A semantic category may be expressed by several surface grammatical categories and structures, which in a traditional grammar might be treated under different heads. The concept of future e.g. will be treated under one head, even though it has no syntactic manifestation of its own. In a traditional grammar it would have been handled under present tense and modal verbs.

The basic components of this grammar must be those properties which are common to all acts of communication: The speakers reference to the categories of his own experience, i.e.

what the language is about. Reference to his or her position in the speech situation. And the relation of each part of discourse to the whole and to the setting, i.e. what is said will be structured as a text in a given context.

These components are in Halliday the macrofunctions of language: the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual. In the grammar these three components will be arranged linearly after each other. The first part, the ideational presents the semantic categories by means of those basic structures which are most neutral to the communication situation. Later the interpersonal and the textual part treats the structures which refer most strongly to the communication situation.

We think that emancipatory pedagogy, the German pedagogy of experience as presented by Oscar Negt and adopted by its Danish offshots, also points to a socio-semantic conception of language as outlined in the previous pages.

Its didactics are determined by the intended emancipatory functions, i.e. by the wish of making the pupils able to understand and act according to their own social interests, but at the same time it answers problems concerning motivation and learning effect.

This pedagogy demands that the knowledge which the pupils acquire at school must improve the pupils' understanding of the conditions and the problems of their everyday life. If there is no connection between school knowledge and the pupils experiences, then the pupils' school knowledge will be of no use in their working up of these experiences, and they will soon forget their school knowledge because it cannot become integrated in their social and emotional life.

It is evident that these ideas are relevant in relation to the foreigners and in particular the immigrant workers whose culture, language and economic and social position differ from that of the target language

Afterthoughts:

We have found support for our ideas especially in the projects of Ulrike Harnisch and Hans Barkowski and Börje Wiberg. However,

they have also raised certain questions in our project. We have, e.g., found it necesarry to revise our ideas about ready-made textbooks, as they conflict with the intentions of starting from the pupils' experiences and subjective needs. However on the other hand we find it unrealistic to expect every teacher to work out his/her own texts for each group. And we also think that some sort of linguistic structuralization and progression is necessary especially at the elementary stage. Still, we have no quick solutions to that conflict.

Discussion

Norbert Dittmar : What kind of language do you choose? Resources of teachers, time and money are limited - do you have any idea how to establish a priority of what has to be learned? Especially, is it possible to tell native speakers that certain features of phonology, morphology and syntax are not so important, and that they can afford to be tolerant? And how can we establish a tolerance principle of this kind without the danger of stigmatizing the foreign workers linguistically?

Anne-Marie Heltoft : The language we choose is in part dependent of the communication situations we, or the pupils, choose because we, or they, feel that they are important. There may be communication situations which demand middle class language, and there may be other kinds of communication situations which demand other kinds of language. You have to tell them that this problem exists.

Norbert Dittmar : My second remark is about situations. The most important problem is how to come closer to a transfer: the point is how to establish contact, how to continue contact and how to maintain contact. There is more about this problem than just to define many different situations which you can decide on on grounds of your knowledge about foreign workers and their needs. Rather: how can we give the foreign workers the means to improve in contact situations with natives? I.e., just how to continue and to improve contact? The teachers almost assume the role of a therapist here: communication doesn't function between natives and foreign workers.

Jacob Mey : We cannot understand a situation unless we know the pragmatic factors involved. A policeman, e.g., is

either conceived of as a representative of the benevolent order of society - this is one interpretation of the situation, e.g. when a car is stolen -, or he may be conceived of as a representative of the oppressive power of the society which defends the private property.
If we, on a totally abstract level, compare this to a situation of answering a question, it becomes clear right away that there is not a single question that can ever be answered. E.g. to answer the policeman's questions at all, I have to know the pragmatics of the situation, such as that I'm not obliged to give more information than my name and address. On the other hand, if we conceive of the policemen as benevolent, we might want to give him more information than we have to. The correctness of the answer is thus not an abstract quality.
I missed just that - the pragmatic analysis of a situation in terms of real society.

Michael Clyne : I wonder if it is not necessary in a society which has a lot of foreigners to teach the locals how to communicate with foreigners, how to make themselves understood, and what the boundaries of tolerance ought to be, without introducing foreigner talk and ungrammatical reductions. I wonder if it isn't necessary at one stage to write a grammar for native speakers communicating with foreigners. Perhaps this is very important even at the primary school level to teach this register.

Börje Viberg : If I were you, I wouldn't produce the textbook. Because, the more texts there are in the textbook, the worse; the less, the better. Of course you have to use texts, but the texts can be changed. If you use texts, it means that you take from the pupils the possibility to govern what they learn.

Anne-Marie Heltoft : You cannot do without a textbook anyway on a beginners' level. Otherwise you just end up with the teacher dashing from one place to another trying to find texts. And you cannot be sure that he or she, or the pupils, will find the right text right away. On the other hand, there is no reason why a textbook should be a fixed text-book. It might as well imply the possibility of the pupils bringing their own text.

Ulf Teleman : I've got a specific problem here. The idea is that abstraction always is abstract and that you can't get away from that. A grammar - your grammar, any kind of grammar - is always abstract, because it is analytical. It is the idea of a grammar that it tries to generalize the things which are there on the surface. If you want a grammar to give a structure to lessons, then it always will diminish the power of the participants. What we have to decide on is whether this is meaningful. I think it is, but then we should know that this means that the participants cannot decide everything.
One of the typical situations for an immigrant is how to get an appartment. But how do you get your tenses, your questions, your modalities, your numbers and all that in? I think the difference between your plan and what we are doing now is not as big, since you want to tell all this to the pupils in the first textbook. It is just another way of doing it.

Norbert Dittmar : There is a seemingly paradoxical tendency to stick to behavioristic theories of learning once again as soon as one has learned something from sociolinguistics. If you want to teach people how to cope with situations, you may choose an imitative approach. But since it is important to be able to cope with more than just <u>one</u> situation, and to be able to say

more than just a copy of the speech acts which are necessary to cope with this very situation - you rather have to make a transfer from this situation to a different one -, you have to teach something like the underlying principles for the management of this situation. What you end up with, is that you need both knowledge of the grammar of the language, and knowledge as to how to apply knowledge of the grammar in communication. These are two different things - you can't get around either of them. You said so, I know, but I wanted to underline this point. In our discussions in Germany we have dropped the illusion that we might be able to do without grammar, just teaching how to cope with situations where language is involved.

THE ROLE OF PHONETICS IN LANGUAGE TEACHING: INTRODUCTORY PROVOCATION

Nina Thorsen, Institute of Phonetics, University of Copenhagen.

What could a phonetician tell an ordinary, average language teacher about pronunciation teaching, that he does not know already? A sketchy answer to this question will provide a good basis for further discussion, I think.

Note, however, that even posing the question presupposes a couple of things: first of all the teacher must be dissatisfied with the results he gets and have an inkling that something might be done about it. He must know that there is such a thing as phonetics, and that phonetics might have some of the answers to his problems, and he must be willing to devote a certain amount of his time to getting a basic insight in phonetics and phonology. In the end he must also be prepared to go through a period of trial and error when dealing with his students, in order to find the strategies and materials that suit him and his students best. None of these prerequisites are at all a matter of course. On the contrary, a phonetician encountering a language teacher may first of all have a hard time trying to convince the teacher that an intelligible and (to the native speaker) acceptable pronunciation of the target language is important to any foreigner who wishes to be assimilated in the native community and, secondly, prove to the teacher that he is not getting optimum results from his teaching, and that there is more to be known about pronunciation than the teacher may be willing to admit.

Supposing, however, that the language teacher is highly motivated and fairly unprejudiced as to what is important and what is not important for the acquisition of a passable pronunciation of the target language: Phonetics can provide adequate contrastive

descriptions in terms of phonological systems and phonetic features of mother tongue and target language, and thus prepare the teacher for some of the mistakes that his students will be likely to make. Further, a phonetician can aid the teacher in spotting the students' mistakes, predicted as well as unpredicted ones, through courses in ear-training (sound perception). Some (but not all) mistakes are best remedied through articulatory instruction, and phonetics will provide just such articulatory descriptions of the sounds of the mother tongue and target language. Phonetic research will also establish a rank ordering of the phonetic features of the target language as far as their communicative valeur is concerned, and thus enable the teacher to devote more time and effort to some aspects of the target language pronunciation (prosody, for instance) than to others (vowel qualities, for instance). Finally, some of the equipment of experimental phonetics may prove very valuable as auditory and visual feed-back control devices on the students' production.

Some of the research in phonetics that has been touched upon above has already been carried out, at least for some languages. But a lot of it has not, especially as far as more "exotic" languages are concerned. However, if and when the need arises, or rather, when the awareness of the need arises, there is no doubt that phonetics can provide language teachers with answers to a lot of their problems, - and whether phoneticians will be able to act upon language teachers' requests for research is largely a question of resources, i.e. time and money, which it will take some political decision-making to procure.

D i s c u s s i o n

Norbert Dittmar : I'm interested in consonant cluster simplification, which seems to me to be a more serious problem than vowel qualities. We have foreign speakers who instead of saying neunundzwanzig 'twenty-nine' say something like /neuewansi/, or instead of Schnaps, they say /nap/ or /əsna:/. This is a code you have to learn, and I would like to know whether you know anything about how to account for the intelligibility of those reductions - is there a measure of understandability?
Another problem is a schwa in places where it doesn't belong - you know, in German we have very often a /ə/ as an ending of an adjective or a pronoun or the article. But some speakers use it where it doesn't belong, like in keine Geld instead of kein Geld. I think that it is a matter of epenthesis for consonant cluster reduction. But in this case: how are we to cope with this problem?

Robert Bannert : This is one of the problems we are dealing with in the Lund project - in fact, point number four in the description. With the new device at Uppsala, we are preparing tests to figure out how deviations like the destruction of segmental structure affect the listener's ability to understand what is said, and which attitudes he takes towards such deviations. The problem of destroying segmental structure is a real severe problem, because it is so difficult to recognize the correct word structure behind the destroyed one.

Norbert Dittmar : Is it conceivable that this is a communicative strategy, to leave out certain consonants without destroying the intelligibility?

Robert Bannert : Well, even natives reduce clusters - listen to people how they pronounce neunundzwanzig. There are so many rules of cluster simplification in speech of natives...

Ulf Teleman : ... but they are different...

Robert Bannert : ... yeah, that is the problem. The immigrants do it in a non-expected way. But they have problems themselves interpreting the distorted and simplified signal from the natives.

Nina Thorsen : That's where the phonetician can come in. Let's say, a three consonant cluster he will never learn to master. Are there natives who reduce them themselves? Okay, what are these reductions? Let's teach them the reductions, then: let's teach them the reduced form, but the right reduced form. There are ways now of testing what happens to the message when you distort it in various ways. As soon as you delete consonants or add vowels, you destroy the structure of the word. When you add a vowel, you add a syllable and alter the rhythm, which is very disturbing. But there are ways to test how disturbing it is. If consonant clusters are very important to master, then we have to devote some time to it and find ways to make people produce it, because nothing is impossible to produce. If you can produce it, so can the foreigner.

Robert Bannert : We are developing a deviation scheme in phonology. It is useless to devote time to teaching foreigners to pronounce segments correctly if it is not disturbing to pronounce them incorrectly. But the thing has an aesthetic aspect, too - teachers often concentrate on minor mistakes which they think sound especially ugly, and don't concentrate on the important things. So it's one of our goals to tell the teachers what is important for intelligibility.

Jacob Mey : As Nina said in our discussion at dinner time - what's the aim, to get the foreigner to be understood, or get the native not to be irritated? For the phoneticians it might be very important to get the perfect thing, but if you don't know how to get there, do something less than to get there, but try to get the message across somehow. As an example, in teaching people Swedish, it might be a good strategy to teach them Tove's Swedish and not Bob's. You know, some upper class Stockholm suburb ladies, they are very hard to understand. But Tove's Eastern accent is perfectly understandable, though it might imply some stigmatizing if you teach it to a Swede in Sweden.

Antje Menk : You mean that Tove has an accent?

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas: Of course I have an accent, a Finnish-Swedish accent. Everybody speaking Swedish has an accent.

Jacob Mey : But it is a very clear Swedish - in that way it is 'better' than the Stockholm upper class suburb ladies' Swedish.

Nina Thorsen : You mean, we could teach people her Swedish because her Swedish is intelligible. But the main point is - she speaks slowly!

Jacob Mey : This belongs to the prosodic features of Swedish as spoken in Finland, too.

Börje Viberg : I think that prosody is a bit more complex than desperate teachers are willing to think. So, in order to not end up in some behavioristic learning of sentences, I would like you to make up some methods which make it possible to learn those things at a general level. Otherwise, I'm very much afraid of meeting those immigrants who have a perfect melody for quite the wrong sentences.

Nina Thorsen : Who suggested that?

Börje Viberg : Nobody. I just wanted to work that out, too, because I have already seen results from people who think they understand these matters and they have worked out a textbook in Swedish which is... well, it's not good.

Failure of a Language Transfer System Based on the Ideology and Models of Learning of the Country of Production

Carolyn Swetland

Under the sponsorship of UNESCO, research was carried out simultaneously in France, Switzerland, Germany and Norway during 1977 on the social and cultural effects of programs of formation on migrant workers and their families.

The Norwegian team based its final report on the following:

1. Base: background historical information, from conquest and domination of the native Sámi population to contemporary labour market politics.

2. Language: a preliminary study of Pakistani speakers of Norwegian, analysed on the basis of four Codes:

   Code 1: the mother tongue Lalnda (Siraiki) and the national language, Urdu.

   Code 2: Norwegian learned outside institutions (undirected).

   Code 3: Norwegian learned inside institutions (directed).

   Code 4: Norwegian (which?) as target language.

3. Consequences: perception of the migrant as Zero Exchange Value in an alter culture dominating socio-economic structure.

The data used was collected as follows:

Code 2: 33 talks with mainly Pakistani workers, informal, but designed on a pattern worked out by the team. These were all conducted by migrants trained in the techniques to be used and took place: (1) at the Labour Office for foreigners (2) in cafés frequented by migrant workers (3) at their homes. The talks were constructed around the place of work and related problems.

Code 3: 2 team members (1Norwegian, 1 migrant) were present as participant observers throughout the entire 3-month period of Level I courses in the three main institutions for adult Norwegian-language teaching: Adult Education (FU- Friundervisning); Confederation of Trade Unions, Educational Division (AOF); Conservative Party, Adult Education Section (AS), the only institution conducting courses for adult Pakistanis employing the 2-teacher system (1 Norwegian, 1 Pakistani).

A fourth advanced level course, Level V, was also observed.

In addition, ethnolinguistic sessions were held over a limited period of three weeks with the AS group.

What did our research reveal? The official statement of policy reads:

> "The mother tongue and the needs of the participants must be decisive in the choice of teaching programs, methods and materials." (St.meld. 107, 1975-76).

In fact, neither the mother tongue, nor the needs of the participants have ever been decisive in the past -nor are they in the present- in the choice of teaching programs, or methods, or materials.

Teaching programs designed for adult migrants are non-existent. Norwegian language classes available for migrants fall within the adult educational system and its approved institutions already existing. No alterations have been made. With rare exceptions, migrants are mixed in classes with NATO officers, foreign businessmen, diplomats, students, etc.

Methods are traditional ones based on Occidental linear logic tied to Norwegian ethnolinguistic conceptual formulations.

Materials used are those designed for teaching Norwegian to Americans, Northern Europeans and tourists. No materials have been prepared for migrant workers.

As concerns mother tongue, almost no Norwegian teachers teaching Pakistanis (by far the largest migrant group in Norway) know what it is (Lahnda/Siraiki); some have heard of Panjabi and there are still those who do not know that Urdu is the national language of Pakistan, the language taught in the schools. Among those who have heard of Urdu, a number do not know that it is written Right-Left. By and large, the mother tongue is considered irrelevant in the learning process. A Section-Leader of one of the institutions said, in all seriousness: "Their language has no grammar. It is written in hieroglyphics."

Our classroom observations over a three month period during the spring of 1977 showed, among other things:

(1) the helping language in the classroom is English, a language few migrants understand. The textbook that dominates the field includes a gloss of the Norwegian words used in the following languages: English, French, German.

(2) The teachers' attention in the classroom is directed toward the WASPS (White Anglo-Saxon Protestants). The migrants' requests for explanations are more often than not ignored.

(3) The teacher is often at a loss to explain his own language.

that does not mean anything, just a way of beginning a sentence in Norwegian."

(4) The textbooks and corresponding teaching materials used are: (a) irrelevant for a migrant's life (b) void of syntactical models (c) ethno- and socio-centric to a degree of unreadability on the part of a migrant from an alter culture.

In addition, no courses exist for the training of teachers. No courses exist for adult illiterates.

As regards undirected learning (cf. pg. 1, Code 2), the material was analysed according to, among other things, an appraisal of ability to use a sentence based on Eric Buyssens social definition of the function of a sentence:

"Every sentence fulfills one of the four following functions: 1) inform the listener 2) question him 3) give him an order 4) utilize him as witness to a desire."

The results revealed that almost the entire material bears witness to the fact that migrant workers are exposed mainly to sentences of functions 2 and 3 above. Asked questions involving responses of types 1 or 4 above, the following took place, even with the more competent speakers: the utterance began coherently and with a competence correlative to his mastery of vocabulary and syntax, then quickly the entire Norwegian linguistic apparatus he had at his command began to go to pieces. He stumbled, repeated, stuttered, stumbled, stopped.

As migrants have been allowed to enter Norway to perform economic functions necessary for the dominant group, their education remains a peripheral by-product of those functions. They remain the semi-mute listeners of sentences that question and command.

As the decisions for programs of formation for migrants are political ones, the system as it now exists in Norway could be called a politics of pre-pacification. The pacification specialists appear to be more occupied in furthering the myth of assimilation/integration than in transferring the Norwegian language through cognitive models coherent to the migrant -the only way in which it has any chance of becoming functional.

As Sapir (1921) said over fifty years ago: "Language is a cultural, not a biologically inhereted function, -and if function is not the ultimate criterion of the word language, what is?"

Little serious progress can be made in this field unless the point of departure shifts from the socio-centric ethnolinguistic base of the dominant group to that of the migrant -by and large a

holistic one, with numerous local and individual variations. To achieve this, the migrants themselves must not only be the point of reference, but must themselves be the authors of alter ethnolinguistic programs, methods and materials. The academicians and specialists of the West European countries of production are -and remain- tourists in the migrants' world. As long as they continue to refuse to accept the subordinate position in this area of intercultural communication, the results will continue to be a few "showcase" programs for official reports which serve to mask the reality of the maintenance of functional illiteracy of migrant workers.

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Teaching German to Turkish migrants in West Berlin - transfer from the language classroom to reality and back from reality into the classroom

Hans Barkowski, Ulrike Harnisch, Sigrid Kumm

1. The transfer problem is the main problem in teaching foreign workers. (This applies to West Germany and West Berlin; whether this is the case for Scandinavia too will be a possible topic for discussion.)
   There are two aspects of the transfer problem, a more comprehensive social one and a more narrowly linguistic one.
   The social aspect. As a rule, only little communication, or none at all, occurs between foreign (especially Turkish) workers and their German-speaking environment. How is it possible to apply the results of the teaching in reality under these circumstances, how can the German learnt in classroom be put to any use?
   The linguistic aspect. In cases where communication occurs or has occurred before the start of the classroom teaching, it has produced some kind of defective 'pidgin'. But in classroom teaching, some variety close to the standard is taught. As a rule, these two systems co-exist without much relation: the German of the classroom belongs to the teaching situation, and the 'pidgin' belongs to reality. How is it possible to transfer classroom German into real life, and how is it possible to integrate both systems?
2. As a result of these problems, language teaching to foreign workers must free itself from the laboratory-like "teaching" situation. It must aim at changing the communication <u>conditions</u> of the foreign workers and try to get them out of their communicative ghetto. This means to create

realistic communicative possibilities, to attract real life communication partners to the classroom, and to establish contacts with neighbours and work colleagues. The 'pidgin' of the workers has to be taken up, to be corrected, and to be contrasted with the vernacular and the standard in all phases.

D i s c u s s i o n

Jacob Mey : What would a session of this class really look like. Can you give some sort of illustration?

Ulrike Harnisch : The participants of the course should for instance produce dialogues for given situations, which are taken from their experiences in the factory. In groups they write down what they think the "Betriebsrat" (workers council) would say and what they themselves might say. After that we correct their dialogues and give them linguistic rules in order to help them avoid the mistakes they have made.
In this way they learn this sort of dialogue. And they do very well, because they have to make the dialogues themselves.

Jacob Mey : Is the whole class in German or do you also speak Turkish?

Ulrike Harnisch : When there is a learning problem the participants discuss it in Turkish, and the more advanced learners give some mother language support to the beginners. Questions are asked in German and in Turkish.
The main problem is that the class consists of learners of all acquisitional stages. So it's very difficult to make the advanced wait and to maintain the beginners' interest. But we found it much easier to develop a group consciousness in a group of workers than in a group of students.

Carolyn Swetland : I'd like to say just a few words on experiences we have had.
Long before we started the UNESCO-project we were teaching Norwegian to migrant workers. As we had no money to run the classes, we had difficulties in finding suitable rooms which were free of charge. Finally we conducted the course in the cafeteria of a library, where we separated a number of smaller rooms with sliding doors. So the situation was like in a pullman train, where everybody who wanted to leave class 1 had to pass through all the other classes and the same on his way back. We had no black-boards and as the sliding doors were as thin as leaves you could hear all the noise of all classes.
But although the formal organisation was so bad, compared to normal teaching standards, there was a cosy and relaxed atmosphere. There were different nationalities and learners of different acquisitional stages. And they tried to help each other and to learn, not individually, but as groups, by communicating in common languages and by giving explanations to beginners.
There is another thing that I would like to mention which I forgot to say this morning: We still don't know the linguistic needs of migrant workers. In our present project we attempt to answer this question. We asked the participants of the course, what they would like to tell Norwegians about Pakistanis in Norway. We corrected their answers only where it was really necessary and used these utterances as a basis for the language course. And we did the same procedure for the Turks.

Anne Marie Heltoft : How do you change the participants' expectations of what must go on in the classroom? I find very often the pupils expect themselves to be in a passive role and the teacher to be active.

Ulrike Harnisch : This change must be done step by step. If you do it at once the participants will drop the course. You have to present different methods of teaching to the learners and then to discuss with them which ones are useful and which are ineffective.

Börje Viberg : To learn a grammatical rule in the sense of being able to master it has at least two faces: first to recognize the rule, that means not to handle the terminology but realize the structure, second to train the automatization of the rule. How do you proceed for the first aspect?

Hans Barkowski : We never try to mediate grammatical rules in the context of abstract problems of grammatical structures. We found for instance that migrant workers have enormous difficulties in expressing temporal relations. Often you don't know when a reported action has taken place, whether it is still going on etc. To give an example one of the participants of our course said: "meine kleine Kinder keine Schule". ("my little child no school"). We couldn't interpret this utterance at that time, because we didn't know whether he wanted to say: "my little child doesn't attend school" or "when I was a little child I didn't attend school". Later it became clear that he intended the second meaning.

So the problem is to mediate linguistic means for the expression of temporal relations. For early stages of L2-acquisition this might be temporal adverbials. In later stages these means would consist of more complex syntactic structures which must also be in line with the progression of the whole course. But at first you have to develop the learners' consciousness that there are necessary linguistic signs that mark temporal relations. We try this by verbalizing picture stories that contain strong constraints for expressing the time of the action.

Carolyn Swetland : I would like to add a comment on the time problem. The concept of time is a cognitive process that belongs to a culture. Most of the migrants coming from rural areas in third world cultures do not have a linear concept of the progression of time. We have discovered that the migrants learn those verb forms easily where this concept of time fits into the Norwegian one, whereas other verbal constructions that cannot be adapted to the time concept of their cognitive world are permanent stumbling blocks. But how to solve this problem - I have no ready answer here. This is, however, an ethnolinguistic problem that we have to take into consideration.

Hans Barkowski : If our teaching method fails, we have to take into account that there is also an ethnolinguistic dimension to this problem. But if it succeeds, we don't care about ethnolinguistic differences.

Börje Viberg : What sorts of texts should - according to your experience - be used in language programmes for migrant workers?

Carolyn Swetland : We think the text for each group must be built up by the class itself as it goes along. They have what they want to say. This only has to be structured.

Börje Viberg : How do you find out the linguistic needs of the migrants?

Ulrike Harnisch : It is not difficult to get a list of every-day-life-situations that contain communicative problems just by asking migrants what problems they have. But some of them demand grammar exercises and a very rigid form of language instruction. This, of course, depends on their earlier school experience.

Börje Viberg : Could you explain a bit more the role of the teacher that you characterized as passive?

Ulrike Harnisch : The teacher's role can be passive, if the learners organize their language course themselves. This might be possible in connection with the "Stadtteilarbeit" (community programmes) that we described this morning, when for instance the people of a living area plan a common action to improve their housing conditions. But this is only possible in very "advanced" groups. For normal classroom-situations I see no chance for a passive teacher.

Wilfried Stölting : There is a contradiction between two main objectives of L2-teaching to migrants that we all know but for which you might have some hints as to how it may be overcome. On one hand a migrant

worker has for example to write a formal - and correct - letter to the authorities, on the other hand you can never correct all the mistakes of his interlanguage at that time. So how can we combine both, cognitive language learning and respecting language as a means of social action?

Hans Barkowski : You have to keep two things apart: L2-learning problems and strategies of social actions. We have experienced that the migrant workers accept this double-strategy: on one hand to get concrete help in certain situations and on the other hand to improve their L2-competence.

Antje-Katrin Menk : We have had the experience that on the basis of correction of self-produced texts the migrants don't really learn much of the L2. Now as you put in these systematic exercises you use things that are very personal, things that are really meant in communication and you destroy these things by using them in structural exercises. I don't see how you get through with that.

Closing Discussion

"What kind of research do we need?"
Chairpersons: Ulf Teleman and Hartmut Haberland

Ulf Teleman : What we should discuss now, is the question: "Which kind of research do the discussions we have had here suggest for the future?" This applies both to Scandinavia and Western Germany. Perhaps we should start with the discussions in the various groups - it would be nice if one person each from each group would speak up and tell us whether their discussion tended to point out some kind of research which should be started now.
One of the suggestions at least was to start contrastive speech act analyses.

Björn Hammarberg : Is there any study you know about which tries to investigate the language development in both languages of the same group? I mean, both in the mother tongue and the language of the recipient country.

Anne-Marie Heltoft : There are quite a few contrasting studies which might be interesting, not only on speech acts. There are also communicative situations in general. E.g., Ulrike mentioned to-day that you very often nod or say "yes" or "no" during communication, in German and in Scandinavian languages, to indicate that you still are listening and that you agree. A Turk wouldn't do that. That is very important, since it is no strictly linguistic problem, it's a communicative problem. Carolyn mentioned to-day that different languages have a different notion of time.

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas: Jens Allwood in Sweden is going to start a project where he tries to study the non-verbal communication

of four different groups: Swedes, Finns, Italians, and Yugoslavs. He wants to investigate the differences between their ways to express friendliness and aggressive behavior, happiness or joy, and some other things. I think that's a very good contrastive study. For children, there are quite a few studies in Sweden, where they try to follow the development in both languages, but most of these studies are fairly syntactically oriented. They don't aim at the communicative competence, actually.
I'm thinking of the Lund studies by Eva Wigforss and Karin Aronsson. These studies cover the preschool age and the elementary grades. There are some other, fairly small studies, too, e.g. in Södertälje and Vesterås, but the Lund studies are the only ones which are really linguistically oriented. The other ones are mostly concerned with sociological and social psychological problems.

Norbert Dittmar : I'd like to propose some topics of fruitful research, both as far as directed and as far as undirected learning is concerned.
1. Acceptability: Which levels of acceptability can be established for native speakers? And how much have foreigners to learn if they want to comply with these levels?
The question is, what are the aims in teaching? Of course, you can claim that foreigners should acquire the same command in the second language as native people have. But resources are limited, and you have to define a level which is possible to reach. Therefore it would be helpful to know more about acceptability, connected with the study of attitudes.
2. Fossilization: We know very little about fossilization. Very often, learning progress is quick and impressive in the beginning. This applies both to directed and undirected learning. But at some point

learning slows down and comes to a stop eventually. Why does this happen, how, and when?

3. What is grammatical, what is communicative? What is due to knowledge of grammar, and what is due to communicative competence, or communicative ability? Very often you can see that a person acts more efficiently on the communicative level, but how do you describe this? And how does this interact with the other factors, like grammar?

Kenneth Hyltenstam : It has been mentioned before that we have concentrated very much on the productive side of the language of the learner. I think there should be studies on the perceptive side also. A common problem is that even if a person comes to a language course, he or she has big problems of understanding what people say when he or she has finished the course and comes into what has been called 'real life'. The learner understands the teacher and some language that is spoken in television for example, but not all the varieties that are spoken around him.

The problems might be bigger in some areas, depending on the difference between the language of the teacher and the dialects spoken in that area. Further I think that this should be approached in the teaching also.

Fossilization, as Norbert mentioned, is something which I want to take up, too. There is a defaitistic view of fossilization, I think, that if language development has stopped, then there is no way of developing further. But there might be means of reactivating motivation; this should be an area of research, too.

Inger-Helene Arnestad : As an outcome of this conference, there should be concrete projects of cooperation. I don't know how easy it is to establish cooperation between German

and Scandinavian researchers, but within Scandinavia, it should not be impossible.

Carolyn Swetland : Instead of leaving this as a vague idea, we could agree to have a meeting within two months.

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas: There is one possibility for this: the Second Nordic Conference on Bilingualism is going to take place in Stockholm the 18th to 19th May. We could try to come there all of us and to continue our discussions there.

Björn Hammarberg : When I talked about studies of both languages of immigrants, I didn't have in mind primarily studies of pre-school children. I think the adolescents and the adults have been neglected in this field. It would be very interesting to have studies of the mother-tongue development of more grown-up people, especially adolescents, since this is a rather crucial period which determines much of a person's further life in the new country. And what happens with the mother tongue in connection with the acquisition of a second language is something we know very little about. It is well known in Sweden by now that the mother tongue of immigrants has deteriorated quite a bit. And those people who now are being trained as mother tongue teachers or home language teachers and those who are being trained as interpreters have a kind of mother tongue which is not accepted by the people in the country of origin.

Ulf Teleman : Hartmut just said that we both are perfect examples of this problem, as guest workers of a specific kind.

Ulrike Harnisch : I think there should be more research which is action research, where you do not just describe something, but try to change it, and describe the result of the change. That's what we did. The main thing is: you change yourself in this process, your questions are

changing.

Ulf Teleman : I agree completely with you. I think that the kind of research that you have done will be very inspiring in Scandinavia in the future. We need more of this process research, these action studies here, too.

Börje Viberg : I would like to have the Berlin project, not exactly copied, but almost exactly copied, in as many places as possible. Second, as far as it is a quantitative question, we will be helped if we know what the 240 hours really result in.
Third, I would like to see some research on motivation, and how can it be developed (I think it can be). And last, an investigation about municipal representatives' knowledge on bilingualism and their attitudes.

Erling Wande : I want to underline what Björn Hammarberg said about the importance of the study of both languages of the immigrants. Almost the whole conference has until now dealt with the instruction of the language of the host country, and very little has been said about the development of the native language. E.g. what does the immigrant Finnish in Sweden look like? That's what we intend to do in our project on Finno-Ugric langauge contact in Sweden.

Björn Hammarberg : What Erling said would in fact require cooperation of two departments - if this is going to be done at a university -, the department responsible for the mother tongue, and the department responsible for the second language. One practical task in this connection would be to bring about this cooperation which is not at all easy. That's something to strive for.

Antje Menk : Those people to advocate a multiplication of the Berlin project all over Scandinavia should be aware of one thing: the evaluation of projects of that type is on the way down the line. There has been a time when practical things were evaluated more highly than they are now. A few of us are in a conflict - if they enter in projects of that sort, then their methodological tools and the refinement will not be evaluated very highly by their own professional colleagues. The problem poses itself differently for those who need a qualification and a job, and those who don't have to bother since they have got their job already. This is a political tendency we have to be aware of, and it works against projects of this type.

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas: I agree with what you said and partly with what Björn said about cooperation between different departments - the department of mother tongue and the department of the langue of the country of production. But you can't do too much if you only make linguistic studies. We have to stop departmentalizing the problems if we want to do something really important. What we need is not only cooperation between so-called experts from different fields, but we need some kind of new criteria for what is science and what is scientific, and for what is good methodology and what is not. We cannot use the same kind of methodology in interdisciplinary research as in research which directs itself to a very narrow and well-defined field. I would like to investigate what kind of new criteria we could use for this kind of research. What we should take advantage of also, is old experiences of the old, indigenous minorities that

we have in different countries. For example the Lapps in Scandinavia, or the old Finnish minority in Sweden. We should try to do something like the big Fishman study of 1966 which studied the social and economic conditions of maintaining the mother tongue, and different types of adjustment and different types of assimilation.
We've got this laboratory - why don't we use it? We can even make some political predictions if we study the problems of the old minorities which we have in Scandinavia and in Germany, too.

Antje Menk : I think we have to keep in mind that criteria of what is good research are nothing objective. The criteria are made, and they are made by institutions who grant research money, by institutions who write "Gutachten" - I don't know what that is in English -, by professors holding positions, and so on. If you say that we have to redefine the criteria, then it is a matter of the power of those who are going to redefine. It sounds a bit dangerous, because redefining criteria sounds always as if we want to define a lower level of achievement for those people who want to work in a different way. I'd rather put it the other way round: let's take a neutral field like psychology. Since all those beautiful refined laboratory experiments about verbal learning which satisfy very high standards of statistics and setting-up and all that, have brought very little for the job of language teaching, you might well ask whether it wouldn't have been a better idea to start with analyzing reality and isolating the problems until they got so far that they can make experiments of these wonderful standards. Instead of doing so, they started higher up and tried to refine the methods, and all the

questions of content were rather unimportant to them. I have nothing against doing good research on isolated questions, as long as we can relate it back to reality. This may take a significant amount of time, but it should always be possible to do that. If it's not possible, it is because they left out the analysis of reality before they started.

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas: The third I wanted to talk about was that we need an investigation of what comes out of our research. How has it been applied? Has it helped immigrants at all? Which strategies, verbal or other, do we use when we try to get our results known and applied? E.g. known to the different authorities - because they don't really know very much. How can we improve this part of our research? By the way, this might be a linguistic investigation as well, not just a matter for the social scientist.

Kenneth Hyltenstam : I would just underline what you said. There is another problem: the labels which we use in our research, and how they are interpreted by people outside the research process. I'm thinking of labels like Bernstein's 'restricted code' and so on.

Björn Hammarberg : I'm afraid that you oversimplify a bit. It's quite all right to investigate the usefulness of the results. But how can we know? Some projects have results which can be applied at once, and other projects have results that have just indirect applications. Not immediate applications, but quite useful ones and perhaps even more useful ones. We cannot know to-day precisely how it is going to be applied.

I have the feeling that it's rather easy to get people to appreciate results that you can apply at once, e.g. if you can see easily when the results fit in in teaching.

But this might be dangerous for projects with a more theoretical orientation towards basic knowledge, since it is more difficult to get support for them.

Ulf Teleman : It would be enormously dangerous if what you said, Tove, would be interpreted populistically. You should be aware of that, but on the other hand, if the other side says "we want to do basic research", then anything can be done under this cover. Therefore it is important that those people know what they are doing and what they aren't doing, and that they don't cheat themselves or others in any direction. You have to know how the things that you are doing fit into the general political context, even if it is rather remote.

Norbert Dittmar : We could illustrate the third suggestion made by Tove by pointing to a development which is going on in Germany now. In connection with migrant studies, linguistics is getting political importance now for the first time. In the future, the linguistic abilities of a foreigner will decide on her/his right to stay in the country, and the government is interested in cooperation with linguists in establishing test procedures which evaluate this ability. According to the new law, a foreigner can get an 'unlimited residence permit', and after 8 years, he may receive the 'right of residence'. In the first case, the foreigner will be judged on the base of his abilities in 'oral conversation'. Some official will - after a short talk - state whether the command is "quite sufficient". In the second case, the 'right of residence' will be dependent on a test. And it will be linguists who get the task of developing such a test. The objective of this test should be the objective measurement of a person's language ability.
But there are a lot of problems, e.g., the dialect

acquired in the social environment. No language test can cope with this situation. There are many different points of departure in language learning, and the result will be a lot of different varieties, and this means that there are no equal chances to pass such a test. Moreover, we think that these tests cannot be applied to foreign workers. Perhaps middle-class people are able to perform fairly well, since they are used to solve tasks of this kind, but for foreign workers the test is absolute nonsense. You see, here we have an important connection between everyday politics and everyday linguistics. If we are not aware of this, we will lose our credibility.

Saeed Anjum : My suggestion is that we should have research on what foreigners think about research about foreigners: how do they react, how do they feel? And they should have the opportunity to conduct research themselves for finding out whether the achieved results have been useful for them in the country of production.

Frej Larsen : In our group yesterday, we talked a lot about the form of teaching. We agreed upon group-directed learning as the best form of learning. In this case, we should talk about the 'instructor' instead of the 'teacher'. But what is the role of the instructor in the group? If we change the teacher-student roles, we get some new conflicts. In the old paradigm, we had an authoritarian conflict pattern. Now we get new conflicts, and we should do research about that. We should know more about interaction in groups. Sometimes our groups are very heterogeneous; we should know something on ethnic conflicts; and on ethnic paradigms: where do we misunderstand each other, and under which premises? We do something. We change the learning, and we make a lot of experiences and try and try, and make mistakes and change

the directions of our teaching in some way. But we don't know very much about all this in a systematic way.

Ulf Teleman : Well, nobody has probably thought of assigning priorities to the proposals. But I think we have got a long list, and a good list. And this is a kind of very positive result of this symposium.

Non-held Papers and Afterthoughts

SEMILINGUALISM AND THE EDUCATION OF MIGRANT CHILDREN AS A MEANS OF REPRODUCING THE CASTE OF ASSEMBLY LINE WORKERS

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas

I would like to start by stating my particular biases with regard to the research about the education of minority language children, both indigenous and migrants.

First, it is necessary to take a multidisciplinary approach. It is impossible to understand the complex and often contradictory findings of research about bilingual education (or education which aims - or states that it aims - at bilingualism) within the framework of any single discipline. There are many examples of the disasters and the complete lack of understanding the problem, that narrow linguistic or psychological approaches lead to. Of course it is perfectly legitimate to focus upon a single discipline and explore questions pertinent to that particular discipline in depth, but unless the results are explicitly examined in the light of the findings from other adjacent areas, their value is severely limited, and they can often be misleading. Bilingual education is too important to be left to educational specialists, and the linguistic development of minority language children is too complicated to be left to the linguists.

Secondly, it is necessary to bear in mind all the time when doing research in bilingual education, that the results and the interpretation of them may have vast political consequences. This means that the researchers should be exceedingly aware of their own motivations, aspirations and value judgements, and openly expose them to critisism, rather than try to hide them, and operate under the cover of "objectivity". It is intellectually more honest to declare on whose side one stands and towards whose interests one feels sympathetic. Very often precisely those researchers who claim that their science is objective and who accuse others for not being objective, are those whose work tends to serve the interests of the present society, because they refuse

to take a stand, or because they don't admit that they have taken a stand. They are often the ones who tend to want to have status quo vis-å-vis the existing power relations, they tend to want for instance to reproduce the oppression of the developing countries (third world), the oppression of minorities, indigenous (fourth world) and immigrant (fifth world), the oppression of women (sixth world) and the oppression of working class (Skutnabb-Kangas 1978a). Research always serves somebody's interests, even if the supporters of status quo do not admit it, or, as it sometimes seems to be, even if they are not even conscious of whose interests they are serving, in what games they are being used as pawns (Skutnabb-Kangas 1978a). Many fruitless debates even in bilingual education seem to be a result of the fact, that researchers do not discuss openly, that the ideological conflicts are hidden and discussed as if the conflicts were scientific conflicts. This is seen in Scandinavia in the latest debates that we have had. Officially the discussion has centered around superficial technical skills, the validity and reliability of language tests, and methodological questions, but the real conflict, which is <u>not</u> discussed, is about something else, namely the fact that researchers work within different traditions of science paradigms, and hold different political opinions (Skutnabb-Kangas 1978a). It should be clear from what I have said on whose side I stand, and whose language I'm speaking. I hope those times are over, when people working in humanities, for instance linguists, could hide behind scientific mumbo-jumbo, and think that our only goal is to increase the amount of knowledge of the world.

Semilingualism, the topic of my presentation, is an old notion, even if this name has not always been used. It was for instance observed in the beginning of the century in North American settings, where many Indians were said to forget their mother tongues faster than they learned English (see Bloomfields description of White-Thunder and Christina Bratt Paulstons comments in Paulston 1975, 27-28). Semilingualism means not knowing any language properly (Hansegård 1968), at the same level as monolingual native speakers (Paneldiskussion om dubbel halvspråkighet

1977), or, put more precisely, a situation where a child does not acquire the linguistic skill appropriate to her/his **original** linguistic capacity in any language (Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa 1976).

Many of those who have never met semilingual children, suspect that semilingualism is a fiction. The notion of semilingualism seems to imply a notion of deficit, which is very difficult to accept from a research point of view. It is easy even for progressive researchers to wave it away and say that it must be a similar middle-class biased construction as the so called linguistic deprivation of Black or working class children. Again a new type of deficit theory, based on using middle class monolingual ethnocenthric norms, and forcing them on working class bilingual children, thus labeling them as deficient, or at least deviant. - This is an intellectually very appealing approach, and I sure wish we could skip the whole problem by explaining it as a monolingual ethnocentric middle class bias, even if the consequences of semilingualism for school achievement and job opportunities are disasterous. But it doesn't seem to me to work. The problem exists, even when I try to look at it with all possibilities for biases in mind. Ulrich Ammon has suggested, that it is only natural that economic oppression is reflected in language, too (1973). Semilingualism should not, then, be viewed as a characteristic inherent in the children themselves, but as a reflection of the powerless situation in which they get their linguistic education at school. It functions as a way of transfering the deficits of the school system so that they are seen as deficits in the individual children (Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa 1976, Skutnabb-Kangas 1977a). As soon as the minority gets control over its own educational situation, semilingualism can also be cured, as we can see in Sweden for instance from the experience with the mother-tongue pre school classes, where immigrant children get as good results on language tests as monolinguals (Toukomaa & Skutnabb-Kangas 1977).

I'm going to start with a non-scientific description, memories (based on notes) of a child, a five year old Finnish immigrant child in Sweden, to give a concrete example of semilingualism. I spent a month with him, teaching him Finnish, in 1977. During the first week I spent 8 hours a day with him, and during the following three weeks two days every week. He was almost 5 years old. He was born in Swedem and his mother had immigrated to Sweden from Finland. She did not know much Swedish. She worked at a laundry from 7 AM to 5PM. His father did not live with them. He had stayed at the same day care center since he was 8 months old, before that he had Finnish-speaking family day care. None of the personnel at the day care center knew any Finnish. The mother left him there every morning close to 7 and picked him up 5.30. She told me that during the first years he was so tired when they came home by underground that he immediately fell asleep when they arrived. That meant that he didn't talk very much with his mother during the weekdays, except on the underground. During the weekends mother and son were together and they did not see very many other people, neither Finns nor Swedes, but she was often very tired and didn't have the energy to talk with him as much as she would have liked to. She said that he had great difficulties when he tried to express himself in Finnish, his mother tongue, but she thought that his Swedish was quite fluent.

The personnel at the day care center - and some of them had known him since he was 8 months - didn't think so. They said that his Swedish was very poor. He had an absolutely native accent and spoke seemingly fluently (why do adults overestimate the linguistic skills of those children who sound fluent in their L2? For some of the explanations see Skutnabb-Kangas 1978b, 116). But his vocabulary was extremely limited and he didn't understand everything that was said to him, neither by the other children nor by the personnel. When the children gathered around the teacher every day to talk about what day it was, what kind of plans there were for the day, to

learn something new, or to listen to fairytales, he had great difficulties to concentrate, because he didn't understand, according to the teachers. He would sit there a few minutes, but then he would either start to do other things ("disturb") or simply go away. The teachers said that he didn't understand what was said, and my observations about his Swedish confirmed these claims, I think (perhaps I should add that I'm a native speaker of both Finnish and Swedish myself).

The other children, with whom he used to play, were one or two years younger than he. They liked him, he had some good friends (all of them younger than he), but they were at the same time a bit afraid of him. All of a sudden he could become very aggressive, without any obvious reason, and he could hit and kick and bite the other children. At other times he was very tender and loving. The teachers said that he obviously had no means of solving his problems: he showed both positive and negative feelings physically, not verbally.

When I came, he became very happy. The notion of an adult with high status both among the personnel and among the other children (my status as a Finn would have been low among the children, but it rose when I demonstrated that I also knew Swedish, and especially when it was found that I could count to ten in English, German, Latin etc - then especially the 6-year old girls felt impressed, and they also learned how to count in Finnish), an adult who spoke his mother tongue, and who stayed there only because of him, seemed to be very positive. During the first days he didn't leave me for a minute. He became a baby again. I had to carry him around for several hours every day, he was hanging around my neck and kissing me all the time. He tried really hard to communicate in Finnish. Sometimes he started to cry when he had something important to say and tried and tried, first in Finnish and then often in Swedish, but didn't manage.

His Finnish was very poor. I tried to test him with the Finnish standardized version of ITPA (Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities)(Osgood 1957, Kuusinen & Blåfield 1974, Blåfield & Kuusinen 1974 - see Toukomaa & Skutnabb-Kangas

1977, 42-45) and with Breuer-Weuffens sensory-motor tests (Breuer & Weuffen 1975 - see Toukomaa & Skutnabb-Kangas 1977, 39-42), which tap the ability to differentiate sensory signals of language and adequate motor reactions to them, i.e. phonemic, optical, rhythmic, kinaesthetic and melodic sensory-motor skills, which constitute a necessary basis for learning how to read and write. It is impossible to report any results about the tests, since his performance on almost all the tests, even the optical test which usually didn't constitute any problems even for 3- and 4-year olds, was below all the norms. Even if the tests are not terribly interesting, 5-year old children in Finnish-medium kindergartens in Sweden (tested by me) could concentrate and do them in one 40-minute session. But he could not concentrate more than one or two minutes in the beginning of our month. - In the end of the month I also gave him a non-verbal intelligence test, Ravens coloured matrices A, Ab and B (Raven 1965), which showed that his non-verbal intelligence was above the average, at 75th percentile. Since he was linguistically almost untestable, my descriptions of his language are just scattered observations.

He couldn't count to more than three in any language, after that he said: many. He didn't know the names of any colours in any language. He didn't know the names of most of the things around him, either at the day care center or outside (I often took him out and downtown for walks) in any language. In Finnish he used only present tense, in Swedish present and past. Instead of the person inflection in Finnish he often used the infinitive form. Finnish has fifteen cases, and usually children master the 11 most common of them, around the age of three ( ). He used only 6 of them, which meant that he for instance was unable to say that something was on something, or that somebody was going to a place or coming from a place. His pronunciation of Finnish was heavily influenced by Swedish, and he was for instance unable to differentiate between long and short phonemes, a crucial distinction in Finnish, both in comprehension tests and tests of production, both free production and imitation. He also had very heavy lexical inter-

ference from Swedish in his Finnish. I'm sure that a 5-year old Finnish child in Finland could not have understood more than a small part of what he said in "Finnish". -The teachers said that they could not imagine that he could have any possibilities to get along in a Swedish school.

In order to show that my observations of a child in a foreign language environment are not an exception, I'll quote from Karin Aronsson, who has studied the development of standard logic in Finnish immigrant children i Sweden:

"Some of the younger subjects (the age range was 4-9, my remark) revealed zero or close to zero performance on the Swedish production task. Yet, for most of these subjects, Swedish has for many years been a "natural" language...in the sense that it has been spoken in their daily lives in non-school settings; in streets and play-grounds, on television etc. However, as described elsewhere (Aronsson 1978a), exposure (whether in small or great amounts) cannot be equated with learning (my underlining). For one thing, the child may get along quite well by decoding contextual cues for meaning - thus bypassing comprehension of the verbal messages. Also, in those situations which ordinarily demand verbal production, the child may often cope by employing alternative communicative strategies (non-verbal ones or ritualized sets of phrases)." (Aronsson 1978b)

He was an absolutely normal child in the beginning, in all respects. But the day care system which he was put into, in a foreign language, had more or less destroyed his possibilities to a normal linguistic development, as I see it. I don't know how irreversible it was in his case, but I have seen many cases where the children supposedly will never catch up again. - He is just one of the close to 70 000 immigrant children under 7 years in Sweden, and it is impossible to say how representative he is, but I have seen too many children like him, immigrant children in Swedish-speaking schools, pre schools and day care centers, to be able to say that he would be a rare exception. The world is full of minority language children in a foreign language environment. Why do such things happen? Why do we destroy children? Is it necessary? For whom?

Until now I've been speaking of one child. Next I'm going to give a short presentation of the immigrant children's situation and the future views in Europe. Even if I'm talking

only about Europe and immigrants, I think that the educational situation of many immigrant and indigenous minority children all over the world bears resemblance to the European situation.

There are approximately 5 million immigrant children in the industrialized Western European countries. The nativity rate of the immigrants is higher than that of the original population. 20% of all children born in West Germany today are foreigners. In some cities the figures are much higher, for instance 30% in West Berlin and 45% in Franfurt am Main (Steinmüller 1977, 568). In the year 2000 a fourth of the Swedish population is going to have immigrant background (Laakkonen 1978). According to an estimation made for Unesco by Jonas Widgren (1976) a third of the young European population in the year 2000 is going to have immigrant background.

According to Widgrens estimation there were already in 1975 at least 300 000-500 000 of the European immigrant children of school age, who either did not go to school at all, or who did it so irregularly that their opportunities for instance to learn how to read and write were non-existent (Widgren 1975). There is good reason to believe that the figures are much higher now, since one of the most important reasons for not going to school, the illegal immigration, has probably increased when the restrictions on immigration have become sharper as a result of the economic crisis in the capitalist world. The number of immigrant children not going to school might by now amount to close to 7-800 000. These children are going to be illiterate, without any possibility of getting even a minimum basic education, not to speak of any kind of vocational training. It means for instance that their possibilities of making a living in highly industrialized countries with any kind of legal means are going to be severely limited. It also means that the illiteracy rate in Europe is going to be higher than it has ever been since obligatory school attendance was implemented in Europe. We are turning the clock back almost hundred years.

The conditions and the results are very bad also for those immigrant children who do go to school, both in Scandinavia

and especially in the rest of Europe, as long as the educational policy looks the way it does. We get more and more studies and statistics telling about the bad results, regardless of the auxiliary measures which have been taken. And it seems that the situation is getting worse all the time.

Many of the children do not know any language properly, at the same level as monolingual children. The language tests and estimates show that they often lag up to four years behind their monolingual peers in language tests in both languages (see Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa 1976, Toukomaa & Skutnabb-Kangas 1977, Lasonen 1978a, 1978b, Arwidsson 1977, 1978, Lasonen & Toukomaa 1978). In Sweden, where immigrant education probably is better organized than in any other European country, the percentage of those Finnish immigrant children who did continue their education last fall (1977) after finishing the obligatory 9-year comprehensive school was 54% compared to 83% of the Swedish children. Only 13% of the Finnish immigrant children chose theoretical studies compared to 30% of the Swedes (Statistiska meddelenaden U 1977:22). The drop-out rate among the immigrants is much higher than among the natives. In Essen, West Germany, only 2% of the Turkish children at the age level for gymnasium are in any kind of school (Meyer-Ingwersen et al. 1977). The bad school achievement of immigrant children in Europe is also reflected in figures like the one from West Germany: at least 2/3, probably more, of all immigrant children and most of the Turkish immigrant children in West Germany leave the obligatory school without graduation (Meyer-Ingwersen et al. 1977, 259-260). There are very few possibilities for these children to get any kind of vocational training (op.cit.), not to speak of getting a training which would correspond to their original intellectual and other capabilities, even if both the children and their parents would like them to get a good training (Toukomaa 1973, Toukomaa & Seppo 1978).

Different studies show very high rates of symptoms of psychological and social problems among immigrant children and youth. Different types of mental difficulties (Laurén 1973, Budak 1978, Haavio-Mannila & Stenius 1977), abnormal shyness, mutism (Kjel-

lenberg et al. 1975), aggressiveness, overrepresentation in classes for children with special problems (Kuusela 1973), drugs and alcohole misuse, high rates for youth criminality, suicides (according to Laakkonen 1978 8 unemployed Finnish immigrant youngsters committed suicide in Stockholm during a month in April-May 1978), overrepresentation in the unemployment statistics (Report to OECD, 1977), all these are things which seem to be getting more and more common. The negative attitudes of the majority population (Trankell 1974) don't make it easier, and the attitudes do not seem to improve even if information about and contact with immigrants is extensive, as can be seen from the study by Mirko Takač, a Yugoslav school psychologist in Gothenburg, Sweden. Takač concludes in his study from the most immigrant-intensive school districts, that the attitudes of the Swedish pupils towards the foreigners are strongly negative, and that the school has failed its goals (Takač 1978, 17-19). If even Sweden with its internationally unique immigration policy shows bad results, racial riots (like the ones against Assyrians from Turkey in Södertälje and against Gypsies in Malmö in 1978), and a negative climate for foreigners, how is the situation going to be for the rest of Europe? Here we can for instance think of the openly racist declarations in the programs of National Front in England (see for instance Seidel 1978) and other fascist organizations.

Children and youngsters who do not know any language properly, whose school achievement is poor, and who accordingly can not get the kind of education they would deserve, rootless children with identity conflicts and a sense of marginality, many of them completely or functionally illiterate, and discriminated against, are going to have a hard time in Europe in the year 2000 - and remember, they make up a third of the young population. Those of them who succeed to get a job in the first place, are going to be forced to accept the same kind of jobs which their parents hold:the jobs which the majority population doesn't want to have. Dirty, heavy, dangerous, monotonous jobs, with difficult working hours and unpleasant working conditions - even if these jobs sometimes can pay well (Widgren 1975). The present educational system for immigrant children reproduces the immigrants' occupational structure

and, especially, class structure. The school sees to it that the immigrant children are sorted out and left outside the higher education. Western societies will even in the future need non-qualified workers on the assembly lines, and they educate the immigrant children to meet that need.

But the second and third generation immigrant children are probably not going to be satisfied with that. They do not compare themselves with the situation which they probably would have had, had their parents stayed at home. They are going to compare their situation with their school mates, peers from the majority group. They are going to be used to the higher material standard of the new country, the country of production (Swetland 1977), and they will want to have the same standard of living and quality of life as their group of reference, the majority people. And they are probably not going to accept a lower status, a second class citizenship, without protest. That protest can be canalized in many different directions. It seems to me that the immigarnt youngsters with the problems which I have tried to outline, are in a very bad position, when it comes to the possibilities of getting critical information about the society, which would help them to analyze their own situation and to find constructive solutions to channel their protests in a successful manner. Some of the non-democratic political tendencies in Europe can grow very rapidly if we educate people whose possibilities to take a stand based on critical evaluation of the information they get are severely restricted.

The research results in bilingual education and our interpretations of them influence the educational policy towards immigrant children. What we do and say now influences what Europe is going to look like in the year 2000, what researchers in Canada and the US say about bilingual education for minority children influences what Canada and the US will look like, and so on. We can see that we are going right into hell in Europe with the present assimilationist submersion programs for minority children: it is a timebomb which is going to

explode fairly soon, if we don't do anything. -I think it is with this kind of background knowledge and the international responsibility it hopefully gives that we should do our research and put our priorities. At least we should be conscious of what we are doing, and in what kinds of decisions our research is - or is not - playing a part. I hope my readers will have nightmares about Europe in the year 2000 for some nights...

Next I'm going to look into the roles that the two languages, the minority language and the majority language, play in the lives of minority children, especially at school, where the minority language usually isn't recognized. We know that minority children all over the world (both indigeneous and migrant) are forced to accept day care and instruction through the medium of a foreign language. We also know that this for many children means that they don't develop their own mother tongue to the same level which their monolingual peers have. This has become especially evident from studies made after the large migration waves, because we can now compare the migrant children's performance in the mother tongue with the performance of monolingual peers in the country of origin. This was often not possible with indigenous children, because there often were no monolingual children to compare with. And we also know that minority children often know the majority language less well than the majority peers. If we think of the division "language as tool" and "language as symbol", it is easy to see that the minority child has a division of labour between her/his two languages as well: the symbolic function lies mainly on the mother tongue, while the majority language takes on the role of a necessary tool.

If a minority child has a poor skill in her/his mother tongue, this often prevents the child from developing a strong and balanced personal, social, cultural and national identity. It also leads to forced cultural assimilation to the majority mainstream culture, since the child is incapable of receiving and further developing the national culture of her/his parents, which is largely transmitted through language (Skutnabb-Kangas 1977a). And a poor skill in the

mother tongue also seems to prevent the children from learning the majority language properly ("the linguistic interdependence hypothesis", see Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa 1976, Cummins 1978a, 1978b, 1978c).

If the minority child has a poor skill in the majority language, it prevents her/him from getting a good education. Since knowledge in schools still is primarily transmitted verbally, a poor command of the language of instruction naturally leads to poor school achievement. It also prevents the child later on from advancing in working life, from taking part in the social, economic and political life of the majority society on an equal basis with majority people. And it often makes it more difficult for the child to develop a sound individual identity, since the child too often has found herself/himself put into situations in a foreign language environment, where her/his possibilities of experiencing herself/himself as a capable, knowledgable and selfreliant person are almost non-existent.

One of the main goals of school is to function as a selective instrument. Semilingualism, produced by the institutional organization of the minority child's environment, among others the educational system, which operates on the majority terms to ensure the continuation of the present power relationships and the division of labour, sees to it that the minority children are neatly sorted out from the educational system and the decision making positions at an early stage. But the one that under present circumstances is blamed for the poor educational achievement and the dropping-out from the system, is <u>not</u> the system, but every individual child. The child is made into the scapegoat: attempts are made to <u>change the child</u> in such a way that it adapts to the social situation in a majority language environment in the school and in the entire educational system, instead of <u>changing the situations, the system</u>, to adapt to and start from the communicative experiences and the command of the language of communication that the minority child possesses when coming to day care/pre-school/school. This is working with a deficit-model, where the point of departure is the middle-class monolingual majority-language norm, and where

it is assumed that minority language children have deficits compared with majority language children, deficits which prevent them from profiting by the education, and which the majority society wants to compensate for. As in the Head Start programs, also the immigrant children for instance in Sweden have a priority to get into pre-school classes. Their inability to speak Swedish is regarded as a deficit in the children to be compensated for through early instruction in the Swedish language.

In the compensatory model of the other type, the difference-model, it is explained that the "handicapped" minority child is as good as the majority child, but different. But also in this model, "different" is often interpreted as "worse", because the norm against which the child is found to be different, is that of the majority child. One never says that the "handicapped" child would constitute the norm and that the majority child would be the deviant, different child. The frame of reference is invariably the existing school and the child that manages in it. Viewed from this perspective the school becomes for the children belonging to the linguistic majority an extension of the home, a place where their own culture and their own language are constantly being strengthened , whereas for immigrant children (and, of course, also for lower class majority children) it is a place where neither their language nor culture exist, possibly where they are not even accepted, a place where their social identity is questioned and undermined, a place where they ought to abandon their language and their norms to get by, and instead learn to adopt the language usage, norms and values of the (middle class) linguistic majority (Toukomaa & Skutnabb-Kangas 1977, 19-20).

A real equality would presuppose a school taking the possibilities of the individual child as the starting point and accepting each child on the child's own terms. Instead of neglecting what the child already has when she/he comes to the school, one ought to build further on this basis, use it as a foundation for the new experiences that the school will give the child. <u>All</u> children need new experiences and skills, even if different children need expansion in different directions. A school that one-sidedly takes the language and culture of a single group

as its point of departure renders school difficulties for all other groups (Toukomaa & Skutnabb-Kangas 1977, 20).

Most of the world's minority children come from oppressed groups with a socioeconomic status which is considerably lower than that of the majority. Thus they have a double burden to bear, a twofold "handicap". Apart from the fact that the bilingual children's lower socioeconomic status in itself is sufficient to predestinate them to perform badly at school, compared with middle class children with the same intellectual capacity, their handicap is doubled by the fact that most of them have been taught in a language that is foreign to them, and not in their mother tongue. Many of them have not even understood the school language when they began school.

If a child does not have the most important learning medium, the language of the school, or has a poor command of it, if she/he cannot communicate with the teacher (the teachers are mostly not bilingual) or even with all their classmates, if the parents are prevented by language difficulties from having any contact with the school or from helping the children with their school work, if a language barrier prevents the school and the teachers from becoming conversant with the child's culture other than completely superficially (see the picturesque aspect), if the child, at least initially, has been deprived of all means of verbal communication, if the child's chances of having her/his elementary need for identity, stimulation and security fulfilled in the school in the child's own language, then it will be truly surprising if the child manages there. Under such conditions, the prerequisites for school achievement are virtually non-existent for a minority child.

On the other hand we do also know, that it is <u>not</u> the fact in itself, that the children have been exposed to an L2 and taught in it, that causes semilingualism. We know that the Canadian immersion children who are taught in an L2, do well, both in language tests and at school in general (see for instance Swain 1974, 1976a, 1976b, 1978). But it is important to note - and this is a point which I want to make very strongly - that it is impossible to generalize findings from immer-

sion programs to minority children's education. In the same way it is impossible to understand the complex problems with the different outcomes in bilingual education, unless we examine the different social conditions which produce bilinguals. Some of these conditions for minority children have been described above. Next I'm going to compare them with the conditions for majority children, in order to see the differences, and, through that, establish the necessary preconditions for instruction through an L2. I'm not going to claim that I have got the solutions, but at least I have some questions, which I think we must answer before we can contruct a framework for understanding the contradictory results in bilingual education. For the sake of clarity, I would also like to remind about the fact that bilingual education can mean many different things. The aim of the education is here the important aspect: we should distinguish between largely monolingual education for minority children, which aims at bilingualism - language shelter programs - and bilingual (or monolingual) education for minority children, which aims at monolingualism in either language, even if it does not necessarily claim monolingualism as its goal, or even admit that it is the goal, namely different types of segregatory programs (Bantu Education in South Africa) which aim at monolingualism in the minority language, thereby trying to prevent the minority from getting its share of the power, or assimilation and transitional programs, which aim at monolingualism in the majority language (or semilingualism), trying to assure that those who succeed in these programs, also adapt the majority values with the language.

Before I go on to the necessary questions and the different models or programs, I'm going to present three different groups as concrete examples, groups undergoing programs which are said to lead to bilingualism:

1. English-speaking immersion children in Canada, educated largely in an L2, French, with positive results;
2. Finnish-speaking immigrant children in Sweden, educated largely in an L2, Swedish, with negative results;
3. Swedish-speaking indigenous minority children in Finland, educated in their L1, Swedish, with positive results, and,

as a subgroup, experimental claasses for Finnish-speaking immigrant children in Sweden, educated largely in their L1, Finnish, with positive results.

There is a vast literature about the immersion programs and the Canadian linguistic situation (see Swain 1976a, Lambert & Tucker 1972, Royal Commission 1965). Here it is sufficient to note that the immersion children come from a linguistic majority with a high status mother tongue, they have voluntarily chosen to be educated in an L2, they are not mixed in the same classes with native French-speaking youngsters, and the teachers are invariably bilingual and understand everything that the children say also in English.

Both the Finnish-speaking minority in Sweden and the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland comprise approximately 300 000 people. The two minorities have quite different histories, and, accordingly, different rights. The Swedish-speaking minority in Finland, partly remnants of the earlier ruling class from those times when Finland was part of Sweden, has nowadays approximately the same social and occupational structure as the Finnish-speaking main population in Finland (Broo 1978). For this minority Finland has probably the most liberal minority legislation and the best minority protection in the world. The Swedish-speaking minority has its own Swedish-speaking institutions, and the children are mostly educated in Swedish from day-care centers to the university. Finnish is an obligatory second language for them at school, and those who live in Finnish-speaking or bilingual areas become bilingual. The school achievement of this minority as a whole is as good as or better than that of the majority. The Finnish-speaking population in Sweden, on the other hand, is largely an immigrated working class population, with no legal minority status and no protection whatsoever. The children are forced to accept instruction through the medium of Swedish. Their own mother tongue, Finnish, has a very low status, and they often feel ashamed of their language and their ethnic origins. They are mixed together with native Swedish-speakers and other immigrants

in the same classes, and the teachers are monolingual Swedish-speakers. The Finnish-speaking children show all the problems which immigrant pupils seem to have all over the world, with bad results all the way through.

As a contrast to them, we have those Finnish-speaking immigrant children in Sweden, who attend Finnish-speaking experimental classes where Swedish is taught as a second language. These children seem to be well on their way to bilingualism, good school achievement and a sound self-confidence.

These different groups illustrate different situations, where children try to become bilingual, with or without the aid of society. It should be clear, that the methods used to reach the goal of bilingualism should be different, if the starting points are different. If, on the other hand, children with quite different sociocultural and political situations get the same treatment, it is also clear, that the results do not become the same. The minority necessarily needs positive discrimination.

If we limit ourselves to the goal of a high level bilingualism (which excludes the regular foreign language teaching at school), and also leave the bilingual families with parents with different mother tongues out of the picture, we have two major groups left: children from linguistic majority groups and children from linguistic minority groups. Some of the questions we have to ask ourselves before we can decide what type of method might be best suited to a particular child from a majority or minority group in order to help her/him to become bilingual, are as follows:

1. have the child herself/himself and her/his parents voluntarily chosen for the child to become bilingual, in the first place, or is it a necessity, as it is for most minority children, if they want structural incorporation in the majority society, i.e. if they want to have access to goods and services of the society on an equal basis with the members of the majority society (Paulston 1975), and if they

at the same time want to maintain their own culture including language (Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa 1976, Skutnabb-Kangas 1978a)?

2. are both languages spoken in the society, and are they used also for official purposes on an equal basis, or does the child hear one language only at home or only at school?

3. has the mother tongue of the child a high status, both at school and in society at large, or is it a low status language? Is the child made to feel ashamed of her/his mother tongue?

4. have the child and her/his parents voluntarily chosen the language of instruction among existing alternatives, or is the child forced to accept a certain medium of instruction, because there are no alternatives available?

5. does the child have enough possibilities to develop her/his mother tongue (if it is not the medium of instruction), or does the mother tongue become neglected because of the other language (or, even worse, is the mother tongue in danger of being replaced by the other language)?

6. are the teachers bilingual, so that the child can communicate her/his needs in the mother tongue as long as she wants to, without being forced to use the other language before she/he feels comfortable in doing it, or are the teachers monolingual, so that the child is forced right from the beginning to use a foreign language and has no possibility to communicate even the basic needs in the mother tongue?

7. are the other pupils in the class also monolingual, so that the pupils only need to compare their growing competence in the language of instruction (if it is a foreign language) with other pupils in the same situation, i.e. pupils who are <u>learning</u> the language and do not yet master it, or are the children mixed, so that some pupils are native speakers of the language of instruction, while others are only starting to learn it?

8. is the norm in the class a child who is only <u>learning</u> to function in a foreign language, and is the instruction as a whole geared towards the needs of such a child, or is the norm a child who already masters the language of instruction, so that those who don't do it are defined as sub-normal, deficient or

deviant, and deemed to be in need of compensatory auxiliary instruction, because they cannot follow the instruction which is planned for native speakers of the language of instruction?

9. do the parents of the child come from middle class or from working class? How much time and what possibilities do they have of giving linguistic stimuli to the child in the mother tongue? Can they help the child with school work, and with the more formal aspects of language, if necessary? How closely does the parents' use of language for different purposes correspond to the ways the school demands that the child should use it? Does the work of the parents or their leisure time activities demand use of language, or is their work and their leisure time largely non-verbal, or verbally restricted to few functions of language?

These questions tap largely sociological, pedagogical, psychological and linguistic problems, which have to do with the ways society at large is linguistically organized, the way the bilingual program is organized at large and inside every classroom as a self-contained entity. When we know answers to at least these elementary questions, we can try to see the basic patterns which emerge, and which seem to explain the seemingly contradictory results in bilingual education.

As Christina Bratt Paulston has pointed out (1976, 1977, 1978), bilingualism has often been treated as the independent variable, when assessing the results of bilingual education or the effects of bilingualism, a view which has made the results and the discussion very confusing. Instead bilingualism should be seen as a mediating variable. Bilingualism - or, for that matter, monolingualism - is never a goal in itself, in its own right. I see <u>bilingualism as an instrument to achieving broader societal goals</u>. Bilingualism can be used to pacify or try to pacify (or prepacify) groups who otherwise might be more difficult to keep down. Bilingualism can be a well-meant bone which you throw to hungry dogs who otherwise would attack you. Bilingualism can be used to prevent equality - or to help to create equality. And of course it is important to note again, that the official goals of bilingual education do not neces-

sarily reflect the real goals, which can better be seen in the measures taken to realize the officially agreed-upon goals. The gap between the official goals, and what is done in practise, can be very large indeed. As research workers we should of course try to show the gap between the beautiful theory and the often ugly praxis, where it exists, and not let us be forced to silence because of the official consensus, or because we fear that our funds will be cut. Again the "whose-research-are-you-doing"-question.

If we really want to understand the different effects of both bilingualism and bilingual education on children under different circumstances, we cannot, however, start with bilingualism itself, either: that would be to start in the middle of a causal chain. We must also recognize the fact that there are <u>different types of bilingualism</u>, produced in ways which we still don't know very much about, by different sociopolitical, cultural and pedagogical circumstances. These different types lead to different results, as far as the cognitive consequences and the school achievement are concernae. Instead of starting with bilingualism we have to start with an analysis of the societies which produce bilinguals (or semilinguals), and ask why and how they are trying (or not trying) to produce bilinguals in schools. This means that we have to ask ourselves why people want to become bilingual through instruction at school. We also have to ask, whether it is those people themselves or somebody else who decides how this should be done, and whose interests it serves if it succeeds or fails.

It is easy to see that bilingualism for majority groups functions as an <u>enrichment</u>. Nobody is questioning the value of the majority's mother tongue, and they themselves control the immersion programs. The immersion programs lead to an <u>additive</u> type of bilingualism, where the majority children voluntarily add another language to their linguistic repertoire without anythreat to their mother tongue. The cognitive consequences seem to be neutral to positive, and the children seem to have good possibilities of turning up with good results, as far as their educational achievement is concerned.

It also seems to me that the risks of this type of programs are fairly small. The child can leave the program and get a regular mother tongue instruction whenever she/he wants to. If she/he doesn't become bilingual she/he at least is monolingual or has the chance to catch up with monolinguals in a short time. And the risk for loss of content doesn't to me seem to be dramatic under any circumstances. By and large, it seems to me that immersion programs for majority children, even if they might demand a little bit more energy from the part of the children than regular programs (Swain 1978b), are more or less an enjoyable voluntary advantage, controlled by the majority communities themselves, and with fairly small risks.

Not so for the minority child. It is a necessity for the minority child to become bilingual. If the child doesn't succeed, it may prove fatal for the child. Usually the minority itself doesn't control the instruction. An instruction which claims that it aims at bilingualism for the minority child, can have two opposite goals, and more often than not the minority has very few possibilities to influence those goals. Earlier the goal was almost always <u>direct assimilation</u> as we know. Nowadays it seems that if the minority itself can control both the goal and the means to achieve the goal, it is maintenance of the minority culture and language, together with a very good knowledge and understanding of the majority culture and language. But there are very few minorities in the world who can control the goals and means themselves - the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland is a rare exception. If the majority decides upon the goal for the minority and also controls the means to implement that goal through education, the goal mostly seems to be assimilation, also in our days. Something that has changed and which makes it more difficult to fight the assimilationist goal, is that the majority often does not <u>call</u> it assimilation any more. Sometimes the majority officially speaks for cultural pluralism, as it does for instance in Sweden, but mostly the majority only speaks about transitional programs, without saying that it doesn't only mean a transition to the majority language as the language of instruction, but also a transition to the majority language as the mother tongue, to

the majority culture and values, and to abandoning the minority's own language and culture. The assimilation goal operates through submersion programs, where the instruction is through the medium of the majority language, and where the minority language, if it is used at all, only serves the function of a bridge, to make the transition easier. The minority language doesn't have any intrinsic value as a symbol of the minority identity, it only has an instrumental value, and serves the purposes of the majority society (which doesn't want to loose talent, even if it comes from the minority). The submersion programs seem to lead to semilingualism, as we call it in Scandinavia, or a subtractive type of bilingualism (Lambert 1975), a situation where the bilingual competence of the child all the time reflects the fact that the mother tongue is being replaced by the majority language. The subtractive type of bilingualism seems to lead to a risk for negative cognitive consequences and bad school achievement, in fairly complex ways which we still know fairly little about. Here the threshold hypothesis and the linguistic interdependence hypothesis, as Cummins has developed them (Cummins 1976a, 1976b, 1978a, 1978b, 1978c, Toukomaa-& Skutnabb-Kangas 1977) are important steps in trying to explore the relationships.

Where the goal of the education is maintenance of the minority's own mother tongue and culture, the best means of achieving bilingualism seems to be language shelter programs, where the minority's own mother tongue is the medium of instruction, and where the majority language is taught as a second language. This type of program seems to lead to functional bilingualism, a type of bilingualism which enables the child to function in the society, either in the country of origin or the country of production, on an equal basis with natives, according to both the demands of the respective societies and to the needs of the child, and the opportunity positively to identify with both languages and cultures. This also seems to give good possibilities for cognitive growth and school achievement.

In conclusion: Semilingualism is produced in a situation, where minority children from working class homes are forced to accept instruction through the medium of a foreign majority language, and where their own mother tongue has a low prestige. The same kind

of instruction in an L2 for middle class children from a linguistic majority group, whose mother tongue has high prestige, does not result in semilingualism, but bilingualism.

This is what we can conclude from the experiences of both the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland as a whole, and different small studies for instance with the experimental Finnish-speaking classes in Sweden, with the Skolt Samish minority in northern Finland (Mosnikoff 1977) and from numerous resolutions as well as interviews with and articles about teachers, parents, and the children themselves in Scandinavia, whose testimony I think is at least as important as all the research evidence.

I think we have enough evidence to conclude, that we cannot use the same type of educational programs for these two main groups. It seems, even if we are far from knowing in detail why it is so, that the best means for minority children to become bilingual is to get as much of their instruction as possible through the medium of the mother tongue, at least during the first six years (Unesco 1953), but preferably longer. And to ensure that the programs really meet the minority's own need, the programs should be operated and controlled by the minority community itself.

We know that this kind of minority controlled education is a rare exception among the minorities, indigenous or immigrated, today. While we are sitting here, discussing and reading, millions of minority children are struggling with the problems of semilingualism, which could have been prevented. It doesn't help them very much, if we tell them in the year 2000 that we know something about what <u>would</u> have been good for them in 1978, with a probable error of 0.5. We can't deep freeze them until our statistical reliability requirements are met. I don't think we have any excuses when the lost generations ask us why we didn't do anything in the year 1978, even if we knew.

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Note

This paper is a revised version of what I was supposed to say at the First Scandinavian-German Symposium on the Language of Immigrant Workers and their Children, Roskilde, 19–23 March, 1978, and what I said in my two papers at the 5th International Congress of Applied Linguistics, Montréal, August 20–26, 1978 ("Language shelter programs - from transitional assimilation to emancipatory maintenance of minority language", and "Mother tongue maintenance and the educational development of minority language children" at the Round Table Discussion "Bilingual Education"). I have tried to preserve the informality of speech in the written version.

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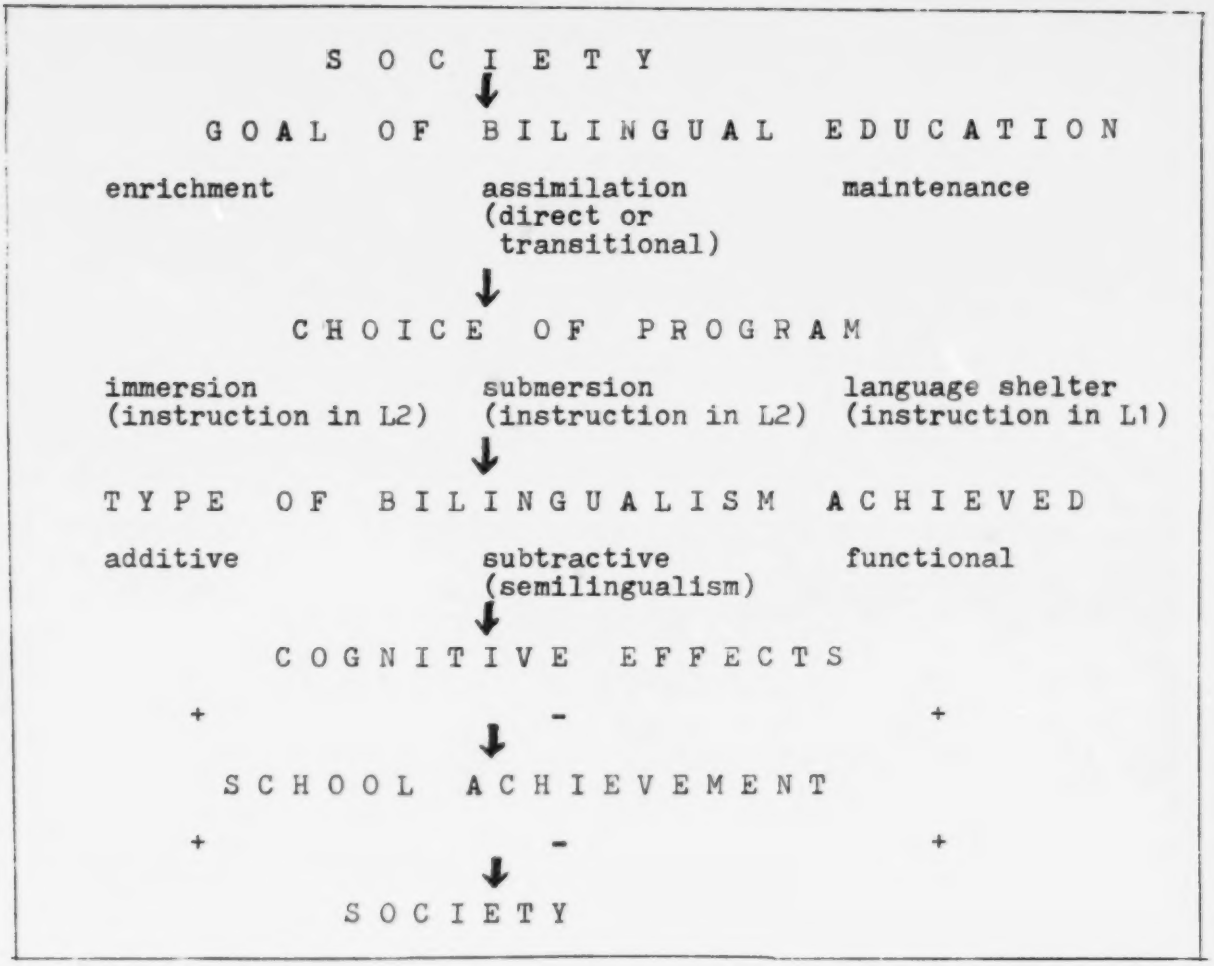
IMMERSION	SUBMERSION	LANGUAGE SHELTER
Linguistic majority	Linguistic minority	Linguistic minority
High-status mother tongue (L1)	Low-status mother tongue	Instruction in L1 gives status to L1
Often middle class parents	Working class parents	Often working class parents
Program optional, high motivation	No alternatives, low motivation	Program optional, high motivation
L2 not a threat to L1	L2 is a threat to L1	L2 not a threat to L1
Bilingual teachers (speak only L2 in class but understand L1)	Monolingual teachers (L2), do not understand L1	Bilingual teachers (speak only L1 in class but understand L2)
Children monolingual in L1	Both L1 and L2 pupils indiscriminately	Children monolingual in L1 (or L1-dominant bilinguals)
Success in L2 compared only with other L1-speakers	Success in L2 compared with native L2-speakers in the same class	Success in L2 compared only with other L1-speakers
No auxiliary instruction in L2	Compensatory auxiliary instruction in L2	No auxiliary instruction in L2 (regular second lg instruction in L2 for the whole class)
Nobody stigmatized for lack of knowledge in L2	L1-pupils pulled out and stigmatized for lack of knowledge in L2	Nobody stigmatized for lack of knowledge in L2
Parents involved, often initiators of the program	Parents passive because of language difficulties, often opposed to the program	Parents involved, often initiators of the program
Not ashamed of L1	Ashamed of and not willing to learn L1	Not ashamed of L1, willing to learn L1
High teacher expectations	Low teacher expectations	High teacher expectations
High self-confidence	Low self-confidence and self acceptance	High self-confidence, positive self concept
Positive bilingual bicultural identity	Identity conflicts, rootlessness	Positive bilingual bicultural identity
ADDITIVE BILINGUALISM	SUBTRACTIVE BILINLINGUALISM (SEMILINGUALISM)	FUNCTIONAL BILINGUALISM
Possibilities for positive cognitive effects and good school achievement	Risk for negative cognitive effects and poor school achievement	Possibilities for positive cognitive effects and good school achievement


S O C I E T Y
G O A L O F B I L I N G U A L E D U C A T I O N
enrichment
assimilation (direct or transitional)
maintenance
C H O I C E O F P R O G R A M
immersion (instruction in L2)
submersion (instruction in L2)
language shelter (instruction in L1)
T Y P E O F B I L I N G U A L I S M A C H I E V E D
additive
subtractive (semilingualism)
functional
C O G N I T I V E E F F E C T S
+
-
+
S C H O O L A C H I E V E M E N T
+
-
+
S O C I E T Y

VERBAL AND NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATIVE BEHAVIOUR OF TURKISH AND GREEK WORKERS

Short report on a Pilot Study in the region of Mannheim (West Germany)

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1. The field of the research study is the communicative behaviour of Turkish and Greek workers in selected communicative situations in the context of the West German language community. The aim of the study is the description and explanation of specific linguistic and communicative characteristics

- as determined through the situative context
- as cultural and linguistic interferences
- as phenomena of pidginisation

2. The development of a theoretical methodology and the background of the research program will be based primarily on interactionistic perspectives; it will also take into account research views of the scientific programs of the sociology of language, the study of language in contact and pidginisation processes.

3. Since the field of investigation is still hardly adequately explored, it seems appropriate to employ an explorative-descriptive methodical approach rather than a strictly analytical one. It is thus reasonable and advantageous to observe groups of foreign workers from two different countries of origin: problems that seem to be less important relative to one ethnic group can be decisive for the other. The aim of this strategic procedure is to make it possible to evaluate the importance of each factor and its relative place in the frame of each ethnic group.

3.2. The items of observation are Turkish and Greek workers in situations of interaction.

The observation of the interaction of members of our target groups has to take into account the different patterns of communication, interpretative procedures for situations, expectations of sanctions etc. in the two different ethnic groups, i.e. the sociocultural determination.

Factors such as the following will have to be taken into account:

- Origin (country, urban/rural region etc.)
- Structure of the region of origin (social, geographical)
- Religion
- Language (language of origin, regional or dialect etc.)
- Level of instruction (basic school, schools of higher education, vocational training in the country of origin and West Germany).

For the observation in situations of interaction three informants from each ethnic group in the region of Mannheim will be selected. Only those informants come into consideration who have not aquired a knowledge of German in the country of origin and have not attended language training courses in Germany.

4. Three methods for collecting the data are planned:
   a) Standardised participant observation (p.o.) at the place of work
   b) (Intensive) depth interview in the family of the informants (in Germany)
   c) Questionnaire (in the mother tongue)

All three methods will be applied by the same observers in each ethnic group.

4.1. The standardised participant observation will be carried out at the place of work of the foreign workers. The p.o. is an appropriate method for research in relatively little explored fields: it has furthermore the advantage that it makes it possible to observe interactions in complex action situations. This advantage, however, has its methodological problems: either less strictly and intersubjectively testable observations with a great amount of material or strict observations restricted to a few items. The standardisation of the participant observation aims to improve the intersubjective testability of the data of observation.

For this standardisation it is necessary to compile such information about the field of observation as:
- Degree of autonomy of the field of observation, interdependence with other fields
- Space and material (technical) structure
- Equipment (noisy machines etc.)

- Strictness of organisational patterns (hierarchical structure)
- Persons or groups of persons that are interacting
- Relationship of the interacting persons (personal, obligatory through the organisation of the work procedure etc.)
- Patterns, aims and channels of communication in the field
- Recurring situations of interaction, etc.

4.2. It would be important to apply the participant observation to the second domain of observation, the family. But for two reasons it is necessary to apply another method:

- The methodological problems of the p.o. are serious in the intimate sphere of the family. It is very difficult to find a credible role for the observer.
- The central point of the investigation is the communicative behaviour in the German language. The communicative medium in the family of foreign workers is mostly their native language.

For these reasons, it is planned to use the depth interview, a methodological compromise. The interview will take place according to a set of guidelines determining the themes to be considered by the interviewer, but placing no restrictions on the formulation and ordering of the questions. These guidelines will include: the informant's own view of his life in Germany; difficulties in mutual understanding; opinions about the country of residence and about his native country; professional goals for the children; future hopes and plans; opinions about the labour situation, about colleagues, about free time etc.

In the interview we can obtain appropriate material in the German language and much information on the socio-cultural background and the level of general knowledge of the informants.

4.3. In addition to the participant observation and the depth interview there is the questionnaire, which should provide extensive information on the socio-cultural background: on the conditions of living of the informants in the country of residence, on experience and knowledge acquired in Germany, on attitudes towards being in this country, on future prospects etc. The questionnaire will be formulated in the native language. Therefore it will be possible for the informant to understand the questions, to express himself more pre-

cisely, and to make use of some of his general knowledge and the interpretation procedures of his socio-cultural origin.

4.4. The three methods of investigation are in many aspects complementary. At the same time they act as a check on each other. Some themes of the questionnaire will overlap with the themes of the intensive interview, problems that were identified in the p.o. will be part of the intensive interview and the questionnaire. This overlapping is intended both to draw attention to descrepancies arising out of the different positions of the observer and the different conditions of the communication and to allow for their interpretation.

5. The three data collecting methods mentioned above will produce the following material:

- Taperecordings and records of the interaction procedures from the depth interviews
- Taperecordings and records from the participant observation
- filled out questionnaires

The reconstruction of the connection between the different kinds of data elicited by one and the same method will be a problem. This problem can be approached by transcribing the verbal recordings and correlating the observed nonverbal with the verbal actions immediately after every interview. If this is done and checked by the two observer/interviewers, one can count on valid results.

In this project no phonetic analysis is intended.
The recorded verbal material will be transcribed in normal German orthography: dialectal forms, paralinguistic phenomena, especially pausing, fluency of speech etc. will be considered. The answers to the questionnaires will be translated into German. The whole data will then be analysed with respect to the sociocultural backgrounds of the informants, the conditions of their stay in West Germany, their future prospects, their attitudes toward their being in West Germany etc. On the basis of this data and its interpretation, a kind of 'sociogram' for every informant will be made. This 'sociogram' will serve as a kind of interpretative matrix for the analysis of verbal and nonverbal actions.

6. In the description and explanation of the interaction in actual situations, the sociocultural data etc. there will be independent variables. The verbal and nonverbal data of the interaction, however, will be dependent variables.

The basic unit for the analysis of verbal and nonverbal interaction will be the "speech event". Speech events are sequences of speech which can be separated from other types of discourse in terms of topic and special verbal and nonverbal rules. In this project the thematic separability of speech events will be made possible by the interviewer's approximate questioning.

The verbal and nonverbal material in one interactional situation will then be segmented into speech events. Speech events will be analysed according to the specification of verbal and nonverbal expressions in relation to the components of the situation. This analysis includes:

a) Type, extent and adequacy of the speech event. Result: wordlists for every informant with regard to the speech event in which these words occured.
b) Type and formation of phrase classes and complete and incomplete sentences. Result: lists of characteristic morphosyntactic structures for every informant with regard to the speech events in which these structures occured.
c) Specification of word ordering in phrases and sentences (complete and incomplete sentences). Result: the tabulation of some characteristic word ordering rules.
d) Ability to transpose verbal expressions into interaction strategies, i.e. address, question, request, explanation, argumentation etc.
e) Ability to express 'meaning' in spite of verbal insufficency.
f) Ability to use nonverbal actions to support, modify or revise verbally expressed 'meaning'.

7. The results of these analyses will be summarized for every informant. The results of the two national groups will then be contrasted and examined with regard to their common or different features.

According to diverse explanation models, such common or different features in the verbal and nonverbal interactions of the two national groups can be interpreted as being caused by

1. Similiar or different conditions of stay in West Germany and similiar or different conditions of sociolisation in the countries of origin.
2. Similiarly or differently structured interacting situations in which verbal and nonverbal behaviour was elicited.
3. Similiar or different conditions of language acquisition in West Germany; especially in the place of work (including the possibility of social contact with Germans).
4. Different varieties of German which the informants met during their stay in West Germany. Most important are those varieties, which Germans, especially German colleagues, use in communication with the informants, i.e. foreigner-talk and similiar varieties.
5. Cultural and linguistic interference from Turkish and Greek.
6. Tendencies towards pidginisation; here the question arises as to how far the linguistic characteristics can be regarded as pidgin characteristics with regard to the special social situation of the informant's stay in West Germany.
7. The structure of the German language, i.e. specific structures of German which are a problem to every foreigner who learns German, regardless of his mother tongue (e.g.: German word order, the use of the article, gender, inflection).

Every verbal and nonverbal characteristic in the material of the two national groups will be interpreted with regard to these aspects. The interpretation of the aspects mentioned in 4. and 6. will be especially interesting in so far as universal phenomena are involved.

THE LINGUISTIC DEVELOPMENT OF IMMIGRANT CHILDREN IN SWEDEN

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It is often pointed out, and rightly so, that all teaching should start from what is already known and be based on the pupils' own experiences. This pedagogical principle must expecially have great significance for language teaching. The close relationship between an individual's language and his identity ought to imply that every new language or language variant is related to previous knowledge and skills of the individual or the group. This is certainly the case in every serious form of teaching foreign languages to Swedes. But what about Swedish as a foreign language for immigrants? Since the immigrants in Sweden represent 130 different first languages, it seems natural that their possibilities to learn Swedish must be extremely varied with regard to the structure of the first language, cultural background, previous education etc.

Unfortunately, the teaching of Swedish as a foreign language is probably often carried out without consideration of the learners' different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. The teachers are in an extremely difficult situation because of the heterogeneous body of pupils and because of the limited opportunities of training that they have. It is essential that Swedish as a foreign language is recognized as a subject in its own right having specific contents. It is necessary with extensive research and developmental work for teacher training, teaching, and textbook production to be adequately designed.

The phonological, grammatical and lexical categories of the first language form a pattern from which we structure the corresponding categories in other languages. We have to devote a great deal of hard work to learning pronunciation, semantic

fields, and grammatical structures in foreign languages. The greater the differences are between the languages, the more practice is needed to learn the new units. On the other hand there are great resources that can be used without effort with regard to the features that are common to the first and second languages. Because of the very limited time available to language teaching, lessons must almost exclusively be devoted to what is new to the pupils. It would probably be justified to remind them more often of their first language as the great and always available supply of knowledge and skills. If you want to make use of your first language you need to be able to make meaningful observations of your own first language on the one hand, and to make contrastive comparisons with the target language on the other. It is necessary for teachers and textbook writers to be able to make the contrastive analyses that are to be the basis of the planning and design of language teaching. This has been a guiding principle in the training of teachers in Swedish as a foreign language that has been carried on at the universities during the last five years. Support has come from the practising teachers' express wish that linguists should make clear and describe what is unique to Swedish and what is common to Swedish and other languages. The problems of the teaching of Swedish to immigrants have contributed greatly to the increased interest in the last few years in contrastive linguistics and in contrastively prepared textbooks and teaching aids.

Although it is possible, in spite of many difficulties, to make detailed theoretical analyses of what different first language groups will find difficult when learning Swedish, you cannot be certain that the actual difficulties which the learners encounter are identical with those which the analysis may point out. This is particularly true in the case of young pupils living in a society with the target language as the majority language, i.e. exactly the kind of situation immigrant children in Sweden experience.

The project The Linguistic Development of Immigrant Children in Sweden (Språkutvecklingen hos invandrarbarn i Sverige, SPRINS) (financed by the National Swedish Board of Education), carried out at the University of Göteborg, aims primarily at investigating the common and different difficulties for immigrant children with various first languages and linguistic stimulation when learning Swedish as a second language. Immigrant research in Sweden has to a surprisingly small degree been initiated and carried out by linguists. The few linguistically oriented projects have either been concerned only with Finnish children or have not at all taken into consideration the different first languages of the children. Up till now SPRINS has concentrated on how pupils in the lower and middle stages of the compulsory school learn Swedish. However, there are also special studies made on mother tongue learning and on existing textbooks.

To a great extent SPRINS bases its activity on the par ticipation of teachers in the educational system. It is extremely important to find ways of establishing co-operation between researchers and practising teachers. As many teachers as possible ought to get an opportunity of collecting and working with material from their own teaching in order to obtain an insight into linguistic theory and research methodology. In the springterm 1977 about 110 teachers in Göteborg collected very extensive material for SPRINS (about 2000 compositions written with cartoons as stimuli and 1400 dictations). The corpus includes compositions and dictations from immigrant pupils as well as Swedish pupils so that we will be able to make comparisons. The teachers have filled in a form for every pupil participating in the investigation with information on the pupils' and the parents' first languages, what language/languages are spoken with different members of the family and with other pupils and previous teaching in the mother tongue and Swedish. In consultation with the reference group of the project, consisting of experienced teachers of immigrants, the corpus has been gathered in such a way that the lessons should not be disturbed by test leaders or test methods that are unfamiliar to the children.

The tests have been designed as elements of the usual teaching. In the composition test the pupils wrote a story on the basis of a set of three interesting cartoon pictures. The dictation test was also carried out as an exercise in the normal teaching activities.

Another feature of the SPRINS project that also involves close association between linguistic research and the teachers' tasks is that about a dozen teachers of Swedish use the material to write dissertations or examination papers.

THE ANALYSIS OF COMPOSITIONS

The analysis of the compositions ought not to be limited to traditional error analysis. Such an analysis would probably provide more information if it was combined with a competence analysis, i.e. an examination of what the pupils can manage or dare to tackle. It should be particularly informative to study what they avoid and what causes that avoidance may have. Apart from an analysis of phonological and grammatical categories the pupils' ability to tell a story coherently should also be examined. The analysis of immigrant pupils' compositions is discussed and exemplified in a couple of papers by Gunnar Tingbjörn, 'Språkutvecklingen hos invandrarbarn i Sverige (SPRINS)" in Papers from the First Nordic Conference on Bilingualism, Helsinki 1976, and "Invandrarsvenska" in Svensklärarföreningens årsskrift 1977.

THE ANALYSIS OF DICTATIONS

A dictation test containing most of the units of the Swedish sound system was constructed for this part of the project. Dictations written by pupils mainly in the lower and middle stages of the compulsory school system have been analysed. What follows is an exemplification of the different kinds of information such a test can provide.

The word smörgås 'sandwich' has been spelled in the following ways by three pupils in our material: mörkos (Finnish pupil), sumörgos (Turkish pupil), and smårgås (Portuguese pupil). Are these spelling mistakes idiosyncrasies of these three pupils or can we find an explanation of their spelling the way they do? o instead of å is apparently due to the somewhat complicated rules of spelling /o/ in Swedish; /o/ can be spelled with both o and å. But what about the other errors? Why does the Finnish pupil drop s at the beginning of the word and why does he write k instead of g? Why does the Turkish pupil insert a vowel between s and m and why does the Portuguese substitute å for ö? Similar types of error made by other pupils with the same first languages show that the examples above are not isolated cases: kolan, kriskor, påde and panan are Finnish children's spellings of skolan 'the school', skridskor 'skates', både 'both' and banan 'the skating-rink'. Some Turkish examples are sukule, iskriskår, burukade for skulle 'should', skridskor, brukade 'used to'. And Portuguese reproduce göra 'do', mycket 'much', skyndade 'hurried' with gåra, mike, skindade.

The causes of the errors can be found in differences between the phonological systems of Swedish and the three languages in question. In Finnish and Turkish a word cannot begin in more than one consonant. Accordingly, consonant clusters are often reduced by Finnish-speaking pupils. We can see another way of avoiding this difficulty in the Turkish examples: a vowel is inserted between the consonants as in sumörgos or the word is given an initial vowel as in iskriskår. (cf. the treatment of loanwords in Finnish and Turkish: Sw. strand 'shore' - Fi. ranta, Eng. train - Tu tiren, Eng. steamboat - Tu. istimbot!) Finnish pupils also find the stops b,d,g difficult. Where Swedish has a system of stops including b, d, g (voiced) and p, t, k (voiceless) Finnish only has p, t, k (d occurs but has a marginal position in the system). The Portuguese examples show errors concerning the front rounded vowels y and ö (/ø/). Portuguese and pupils from many other first language groups e.g. Greek, Italian, Serbo-Croatian, and Spanish lack rounded front vowels.

Consequently, the distinction between unrounded (i and e) and rounded (y and ö) front vowels which is important in Swedish is a major learning problem for such pupils.

We have seen some examples of the fact that spelling mistakes can reflect the way in which immigrant children perceive the Swedish sounds and how their own first languages come into play. Although you have to be careful with the interpretation of the spelling mistakes these can often give a broad hint of how children with other first languages perceive the Swedish sound system.

All the errors in the dictations can of course not be attributed to first language interference. Immigrant children must, in the same way as Swedish children, struggle with the comparatively complicated spelling rules of Swedish. The spelling of /o/, mentioned above, is a case in point.

Another common cause of error is overgeneralization. A Finnish pupil whose attention has been drawn to the difference between e.g. p and b may extend his use of b to words actually containing p: på 'on' becomes bå.

Sometimes immigrants pay attention to details of Swedish pronunciation that Swedes themselves hardly notice because thos details do not have any functional role in Swedish. The pupil who writes uvt for ut 'out' is aware of the fricative release that can be found in many Swedes' pronunciation of long high vowels and renders it with a separate letter. Many immigrants find difficulties with Swedish long a [ɑ:] which, particularly in some regional variants, verges on [ɔ:]. And [ɑ:] is confused with [ɔ:] which can be seen from spellings like våknade/voknade for vaknade 'woke up' and vår/vor for var 'was, were'.

A dictation does not only provide information on phonology and ortography. Morphological and syntactical errors appear, too. Thus, we get e.g. errors in the inflection of adjectives,

omissions of the enclitic definite article, omission or incorrect choice of prepositions (especially when children speaking a case language like Finnish are concerned), errors in gender and word order. In spite of the fact that the kind of speech you hear when a dictation is read is extremely distinct, error types like those above appear. The explanation of the fact that so many different kinds of errors can be found in a dictation is that such a test measures several kinds of skills. It is not enough to master the rules of how to transcribe a particular sound. One must master the grammatical system and the vocabulary as well. Furthermore, a dictation is a test of aural comprehension.

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Pertti Toukomaa

THE EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM OF FINNISH IMMIGRANTS IN SWEDEN

Introduction

What would happen if the earth were settled by immigrants from outer space? What would our response be? What kinds of immigration policy measures would be taken? The fictitious example presented by James Gallagher would imply immigration of such magnitude as to involve most states. National and multinational boards and committees would be quickly nominated to draft practical measures. The committees would conclude that two major strategies were most recommendable:

1) Since language is the key to intellectual achievement and behaviour, they would be given only limited chances for improving their language skills.

2) They would be prevented from rising in the occupational hierarchy. Only tasks which do not require a great deal of mental skill would be made available to them.

In practice, immigrants all over the world have been treated according to principles of this kind. It is true that such measures have not been explicitly proposed anywhere, but particularly in the case of minority groups, which for some reason or other are felt to be a threat to the host country or its dominant population, these principles outlined by Gallagher are often put into use.

The special characteristics of the Finnish minority in Sweden

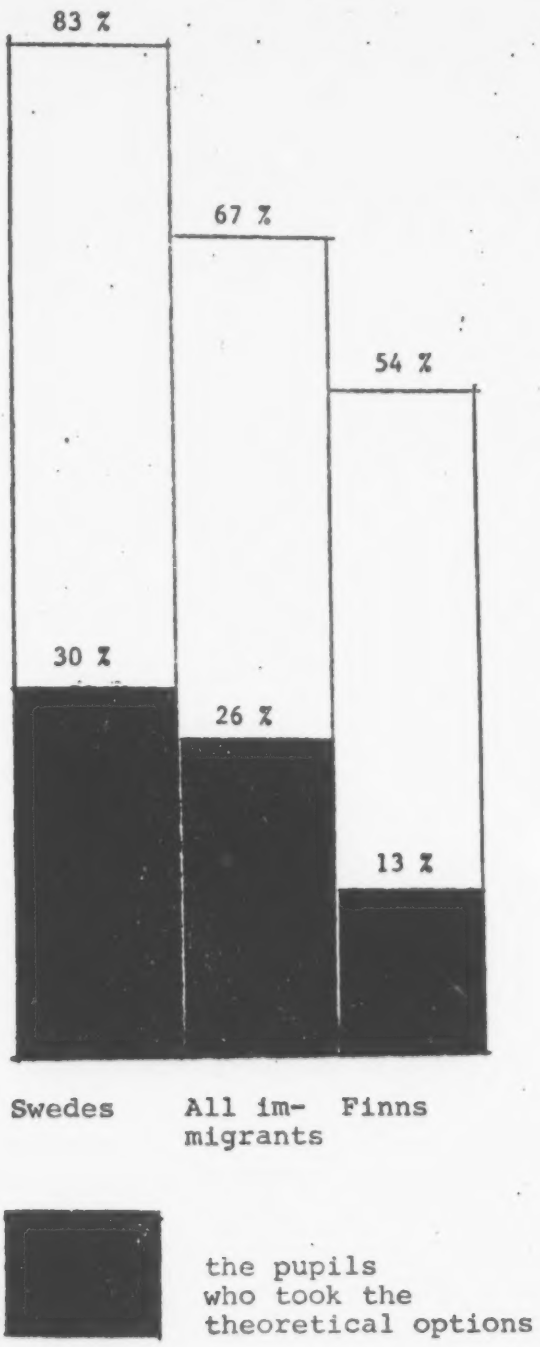
The Finns in Sweden constitute a very peculiar group. To start with, they are by far the largest immigrant group in Sweden. E.g. according to Böhning assimilation is no longer possible when the size of an immigrant population reaches 100,000 - 200,000; the national group concerned starts requiring services in its own language and the preservation of its own minority culture. Besides the fact that the Finns account for almost 50 per cent of all immigrants to Sweden, their number also exceeds even the latter figure mentioned above. It is therefore reasonable to assume that they may be experienced as a threat to the previously monolingual and monocultural Swedish society.

Secondly, by general European immigration standards they are relatively highly educated (Allefresde 1973). Practically all have at least six years of basic education. With the exception of refugee migration, the average education of most immigrant groups remains below this. Thus we may assume that Finnish immigrants would constitute a certain threat to the native population particularly in that the second generation immigrants are seen as rivals for educational opportunities and higher rank jobs.

It is also known that the parents' motivation to give their children higher education is at least as strong in Finland as in the other Nordic countries (Allardt 1975). A relatively high proportion of children of working-class families continues in the upper secondary school. Official educational statistics (Statistiska Meddelanden U 1977:22) indicate, however, that a considerably smaller proportion of Finnish immigrant youth than that of immigrant pupils of other national groups moves on to upper secondary school - the theoretical options are particularly underrepresented. The following figure gives the percentages of those entering secondary school in the fall of 1977 of all those finishing comprehensive school in the spring of that year.

The figure shows that no more than 54 per cent of the Finns have continued their studies in upper secondary school. The corresponding figure for all immigrant pupils (including the Finns) is 67 per cent and the figure for the Swedish pupils is 83 per cent. An analysis of those who chose the theoretical option leading to university studies indicated an even more distinct difference: only 13 per cent of the Finns, but 26 per cent of all immigrant pupils and 30 per cent of the Swedish pupils, have chosen options such as 3 or 4 years in secondary school.

Figure 1. The pupils who moved on to upper secondary school in autumn 1977 (as a percentage of the pupils in the 9th form of comprehensive school).



Source: Statistiska meddelanden U 1977:22)

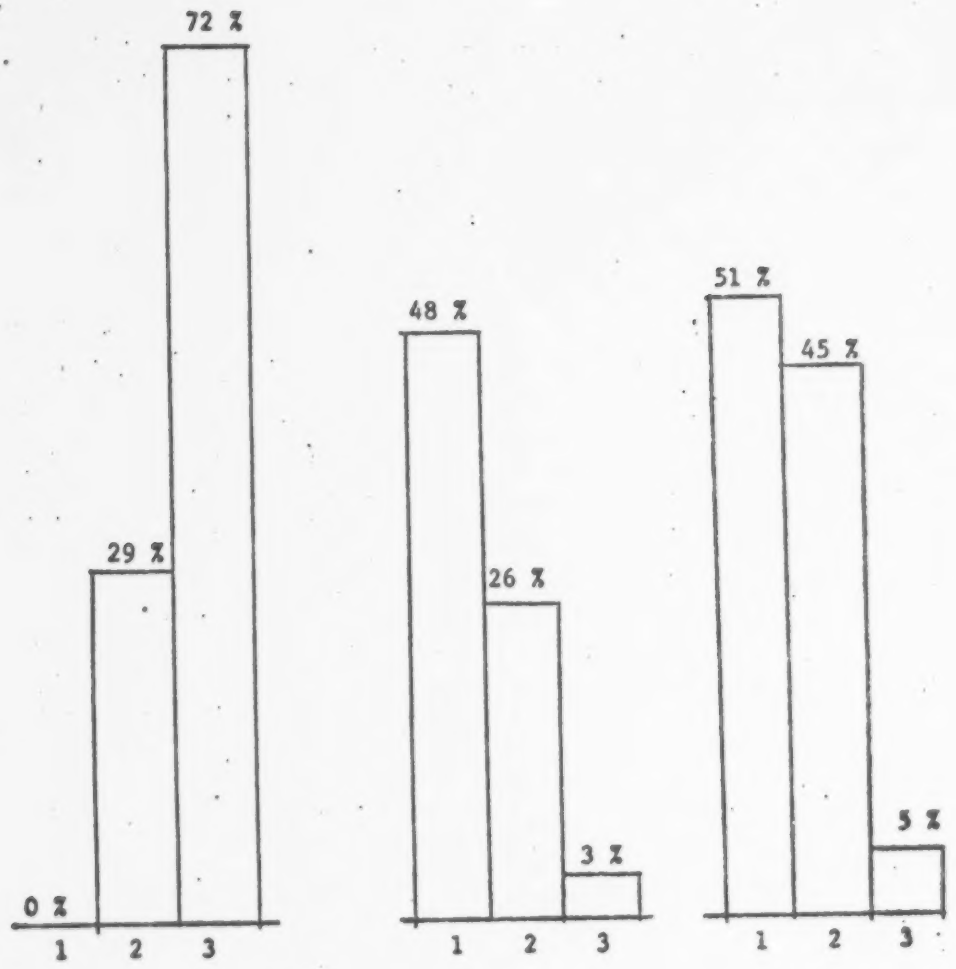
Educational motivation of and opportunities for Finns in Sweden.

One possible explanation for the poor scholastic success of Finnish children in Sweden is that the motivations of Finnish immigrant parents concerning the education of their children are lower than those of parents in other immigrant groups. There is, however, no comparative information available on the educational motivations of different immigrant groups. On the other hand, it is possible to make a closer examination of the strivings and opinions of Finnish immigrant parents alone, even if the results are obtained from a case study comprising only one immigrant locality (Toukomaa 1973). The sample population consisted of all Finnish immigrant families with school-age children in the locality, a total of 156 families. The parents were asked what kind of education they would like their children to have if there were no language or other barriers, what kind of education they would have preferred if the family were still living in Finland and what kind of education they thought in fact could be attained by their children. The results appear in Figure 2.

The figure shows that there is an enormous difference between the preferred level of education and the one which is thought attainable. E.g. about half of the parents would like their children to have upper secondary education leading to university (in rough correspondence with the educational motivation of parents in the lowest social group living in Finland), whereas only 5 per cent of immigrant parents believe that their children will in fact be admitted to continue theoretical studies in upper secondary school. The educational opportunities of children are considered so poor that although none of the immigrant parents wanted their children to drop out at the comprehensive school level, the majority (72 %) did not believe that their children would receive any education beyond comprehensive school.

The experience of restricted educational opportunity is also reflected in the educational aspirations of immigrant youth themselves. In May 1977 a survey was conducted by means of a questionnaire collecting information about the educational and voca-

Figure 2. Aspirations and opinions of Finnish immigrant parents regarding the education of their children



Comprehensive or primary school

Lower secondary school or vocational training

Upper secondary (theoretical option), university or institute

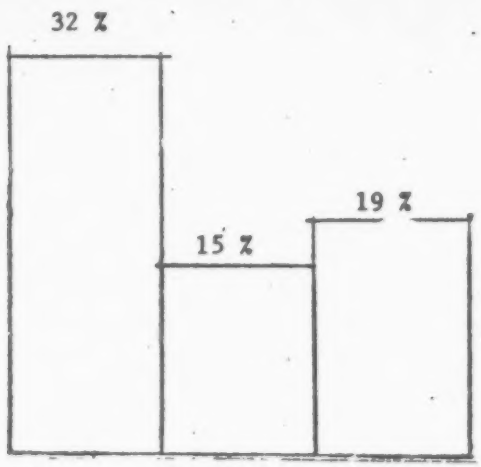
1 = would prefer for the child, provided the family lived in Finland
2 = would prefer for the child in Sweden
3 = believes the child will attain in Sweden

(Source: Toukomaa 1973)

tional aspirations of Finnish pupils between 12 and 16 years of age (a total of 299 pupils) living in different parts of Sweden (Toukomaa & Seppo 1978). Among other things they were asked about their plans to continue in the upper secondary school. Two thirds of the pupils in forms five and seven were still uncertain about whether they would continue, whereas half of the ninth-formers stated that they had made up their minds to continue. Figure 3 gives the percentages of those who thought that they would continue by taking the theoretical options of 3 or 4 years in the upper secondary school.

The general tendency, also confirmed by answers to questions on vocational aspiration, appears to be a clear lowering of aspirations from the middle stage, the fifth form, to the upper stage. A desire for higher education is apparent even among the pupils themselves, but the level of aspirations has to be lowered due to restricted opportunities for further education.

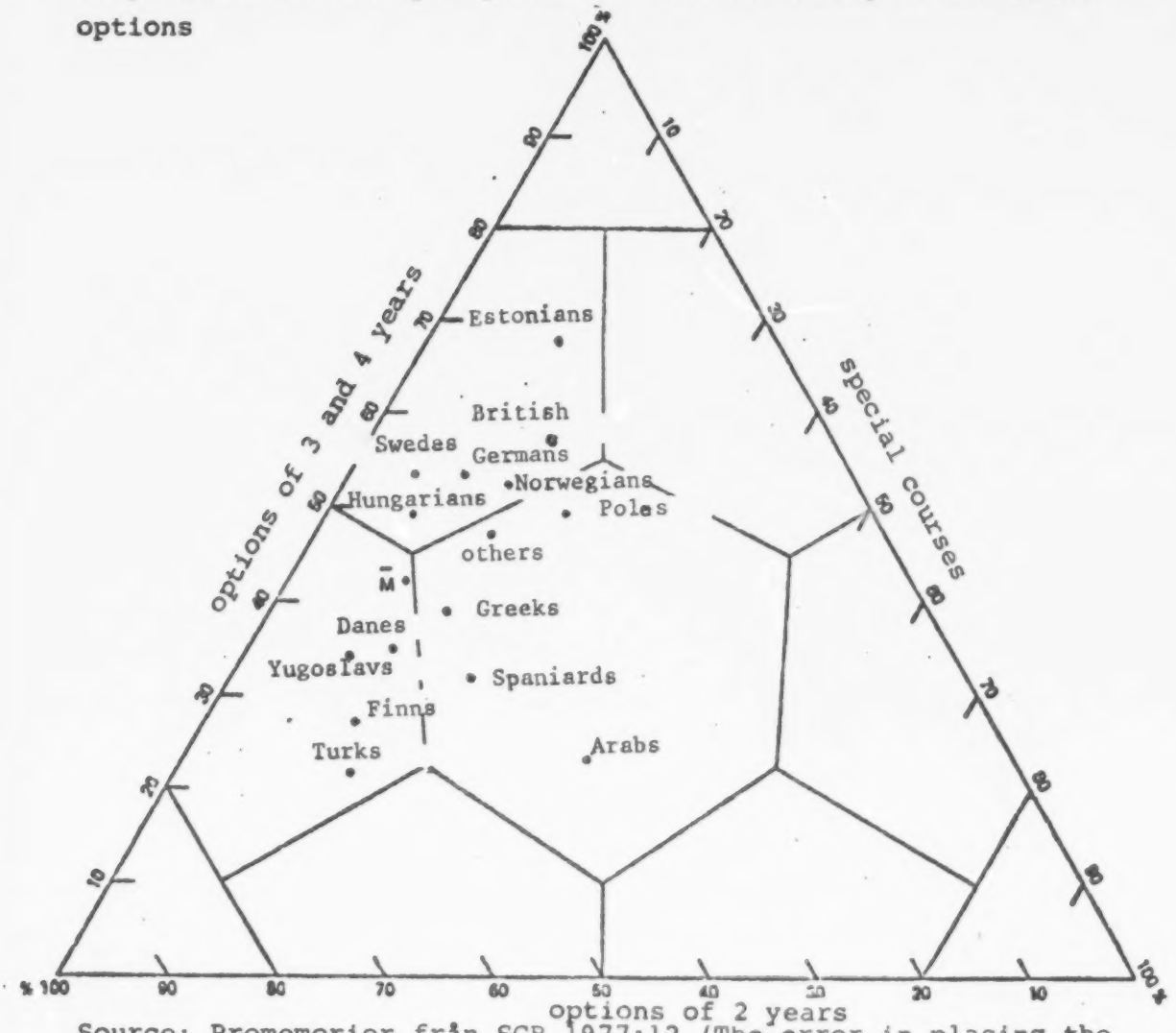
Figure 3. Plans to take the theoretical options in upper secondary school after comprehensive school.



Source: Toukomaa & Seppo 1978

The Central Office of Statistics in Sweden has compiled information on the extent to which the pupils of different immigrant groups are moving on to upper secondary school. In Figure 4 the immigrant groups are listed according to the criterion of the percentage of pupils taking vocational courses of at least one term, practical options of 2 years or theoretical options of 3 or 4 years. The figure depicts the situation in the spring term

Figure 4. The distribution of immigrant pupils in upper secondary school in the spring term of 1977 according to different options



Source: Promemorior från SCB 1977:12 (The error in placing the Estonians has been corrected above.)

The Finns, the Turks and the Yugoslavs are seen primarily as representing the practical options of 2 years, while the Estonians, the British, the Germans, the Norwegians and the immigrants with Swedish as their home language mostly take the theoretical options. Only two groups have a comparatively lower representation than the Finns in these theoretical options, i.e. immigrant youth speaking Turkish and Arabic. The way in which Finnish immigrant youth move on to upper secondary school does not, indeed, correspond to what we might expect on the basis of the educational level of their parents.

The Finn in Swedish society

It appears that the educational structure of Swedish society would include mechanisms similar to those in the example given in the introduction. These mechanisms prevent Finnish youth from attaining the language skills and basic education level that would be required for studies in upper secondary school (see Skutnabb-Kangas 1976). The assumption that the Finns are seen as a threat is supported by a study by Trankell (1974) on prejudices against immigrants, according to which unfounded negative prejudices against Finns were most frequent. Trankell explains this result by the situation of the Finns in the labour market: as the largest immigrant group, known to be hard-working, the Finns are experienced as a special threat. This may be reflected in educational structure and adaptation mechanisms to the exclusion of Finns from higher level occupations.

Looking for a solution to the educational problems, we can start by examining the situation of Finnish immigrants in Swedish society. Here we shall concentrate entirely upon the experience of the immigrants themselves and the mode that they use to adapt to society. The analysis is based on the model developed by J.W. Berry (1975), which has been modified somewhat for this paper. The model depicts the relations between the majority and the minority on the basis of the answers given by the minority to the following three questions:

1) Has the minority preserved its identity and cultural traditions?
2) Is the relationship between the majority and the minority positive? Positive relations imply that the mutual attitudes are positive, that the social goals of the groups are identical and that the minority has equal opportunity to realize these goals.
3) Does the state of affairs revealed by the answers given to the preceding questions result from a choice by the minority group itself? Did the members of the minority group have a choice in the preservation of their identity? This also applies to the relations with the majority: is it a result of their own choosing how they relate or does the majority determine the nature of the relationship.

These questions may be answered by either yes or no. If the answer to the third question is yes, it implies that both of the pre-

ceding ones have been freely chosen by the minority. On the basis of the answers we can distinguish eight different ways of reacting, which may be regarded as modes of adaptation of the minority.

Figure 5. Alternative modes of adaptation of the minority

QUESTION 1	QUESTION 2	QUESTION 3	MODE OF ADAPTATION
Preservation of identity?	Positive relations?	Minority's own choice?	
YES	YES	YES	1. Integration (Democratic pluralism)
		NO	2. Patriarchal integration (Latent segregation)
	NO	YES	3. Self-segregation (Active or passive)
		NO	4. Segregation
NO	YES	YES	5. Voluntary assimilation ("Melting pot")
		NO	6. Forced assimilation ("Pressure cooker")
	NO	YES	7. Marginality
		NO	8. Extinction of culture (Extermination)

The modes of adaptation presented in Figure 5 are based on the view of individuals, members of the minority group, of their situation and their relations with the majority. Naturally, there is variation in the views of group relations as well as individual variation in modes of adaptation, but the model is to be taken as the most general mode of adaptation prevalent among the minority group at any given moment (Brumfit 1976).

When the minority has preserved its identity and when the relations with the majority are good and there is interaction in order to attain the common goals the case is one of democratic pluralism (true

integration) or patriarchal integration depending on the freedom of choice which the minority group may have between the preservation of its identity or moving over to the majority as well as the choice between cooperating with the majority or taking a stand of opposition. If a prerequisite for the preservation of national identity is a positive relationship with the majority, this is a case of patriarchal integration with a certain degree of segregation. Democratic pluralism may be best exemplified by the Swedes in Finland and possibly even the different language groups in Switzerland. The attitude of the Finnish majority to the Sámi people is already verging towards patriarchal integration: separatistic strivings are not regarded very favourably.

Self-segregation, mode of adaptation No. 3 may be either active or passive in nature. E.g. the Black Power movement, open and self-selected opposition, belongs to active self-segregation. The characteristic mode of adaptation of Finnish immigrants to Sweden is passive separation. On the one hand, their own national uniqueness is not emphasized, but rather an attempt is made to conceal it by avoiding interaction with the Swedes; on the other hand, open aggression towards the host country is generally not demonstrated (see Kuusela 1973). To cite an example, in public places many Finns talk to each other in whispers so as to conceal their ethnic origin, of which they are ashamed (Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa 1976).

In segregation the minority is excluded from participation by force. Some minorities, like many immigrant groups to the United States, have voluntarily given up their national identity. This kind of assimilation process has been called the "melting pot". When the minority is forced to assimilate, the type of assimilation is the "pressure cooker". Another mode of adaptation typical of Finnish adults in Sweden is voluntary assimilation. On the other hand, to preserve good relations with their Swedish peers, the children and the youth have often had to give up part of their own culture (cf. Kuusela & Schwarz 1976). Since the precondition for good relations has been the abandoning of their own identity, this is a case of forced assimilation.

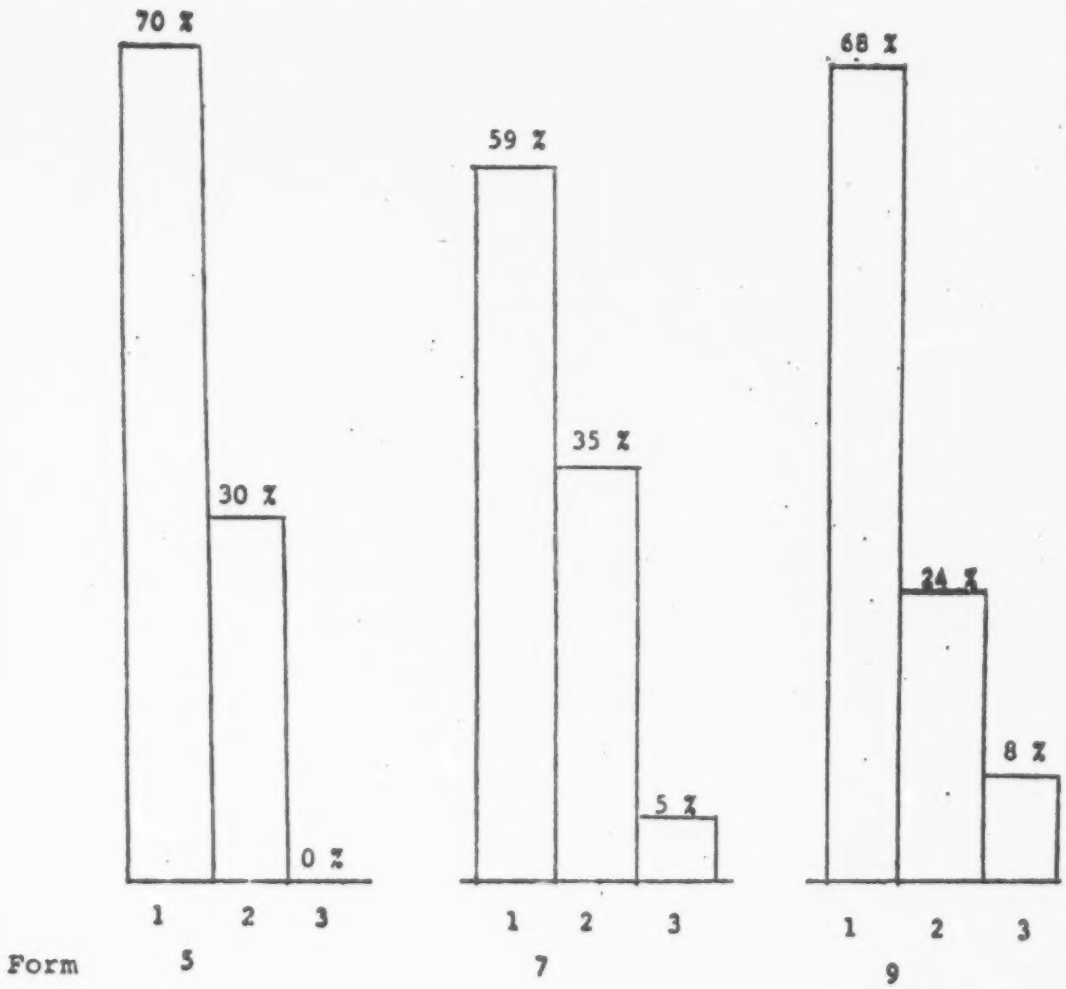
In a state of marginality is a group between two cultures, but not belonging to either, and with only few positive contacts with the

majority. This kind of group gradually falls into apathy and total extermination of the culture. Certain Indian tribes in the United States are an example of such development.

Immigrant youth and the future

We shall further elucidate the question of how Finnish immigrant youth experience their future in Sweden by analyzing the results of the survey on vocational aspirations. Comprehensive school pupils were asked e.g. whether they believe that they will be admitted to the occupation of their choice. The distribution of answers according to form can be seen in Figure 6.

Figure 6. The assessment of opportunities for admission into the preferred occupation by Finnish immigrant pupils



1 = Possibly admitted
2 = Hardly
3 = No chance

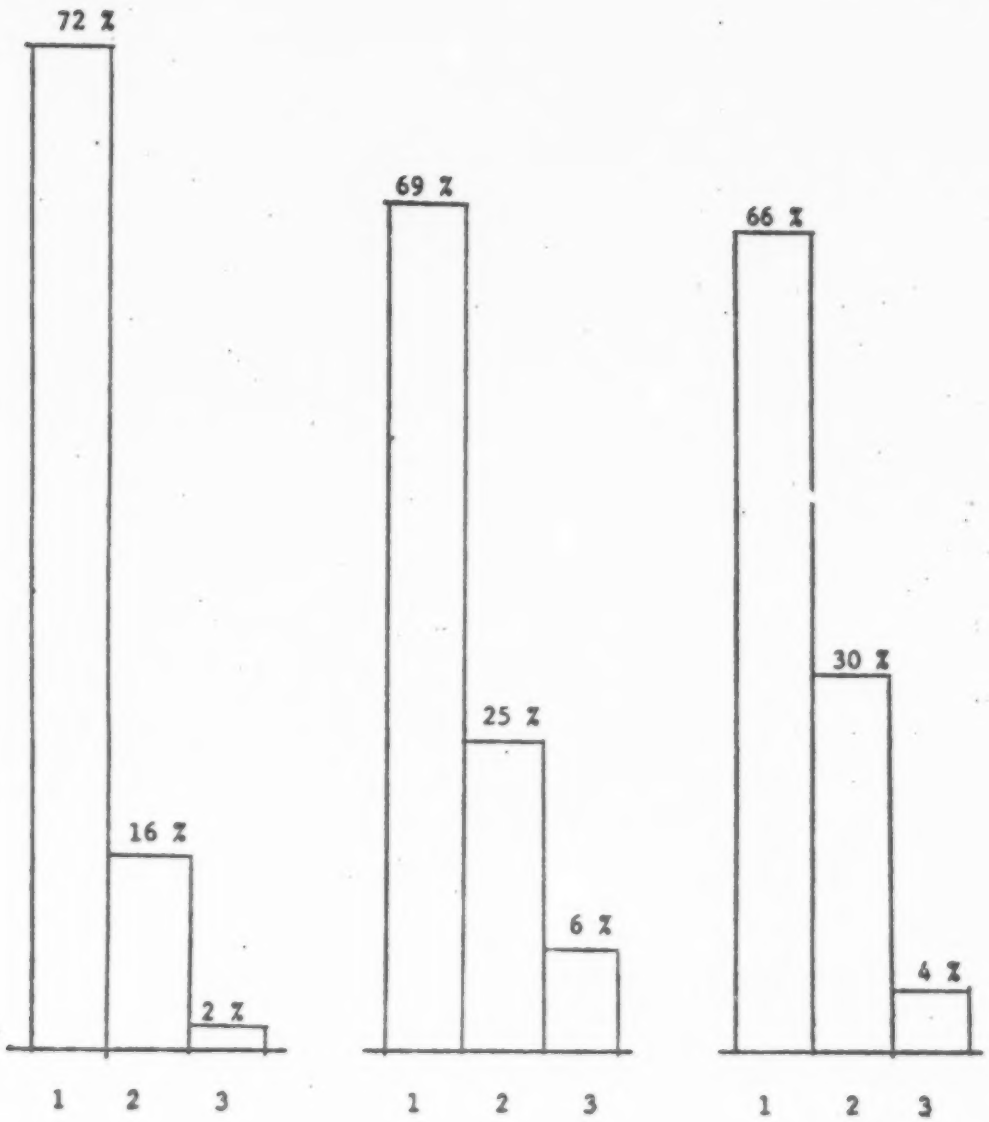
In the fifth form nobody thought there was a complete lack of opportunity to enter their preferred occupation. 5 per cent of the seventh-formers and 8 per cent of the ninth-formers thought that they would not be admitted to their preferred occupations. Pessimism concerning the future career thus seems to increase towards the end of comprehensive school.

A parallel trend is revealed in the individual's assessment of his chances of entering an occupation corresponding to his true abilities, as appears in Figure 7 (page 13).

The increase of pessimism also became evident from the answers to the question on the significance of work for the respondent. The alternative "only an unavoidable evil" was chosen by 8 per cent of the fifth-formers, 12 per cent of the seventh-formers and 18 per cent of the ninth-formers.

Answers of this kind do give evidence of the dominant mode of adaptation of the second generation - at least the majority. The most typical reactions of their parents have been either passive self-segregation or voluntary assimilation. For the youth, the possibilities seem to be either forced assimilation or segregation. Only by abandoning their own ethnic identity and thus securing good relations with the native population do they seem to have a guarantee on some kind of freedom of action in Swedish society. The second alternative, preservation of their own identity, may mean expulsion from the society, total segregation. Both modes of adaptation do, however, include educational inequality. True integration, democratic pluralism, seems to be a very distant aim, when examined from the point of view of Finnish immigrant youth in Sweden and their educational situation.

Figure 7. The assessment of opportunities for admission into an occupation corresponding to own abilities by Finnish immigrant pupils between 12 and 16 years of age



1 = thinks will be admitted
2 = doesn't think
3 = no opinion

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What foreign workers think about ....

Saeed Anjum, Oslo

I was at a seminar of research scholars in June, 1977. I was the only foreign worker there, the only person who was'nt a researcher. During the discussion about foreign workers, I suggested there should also be foreign workers in discussions of this kind.
There were two opinions to this suggestion:
1. NO!
2. Not yet.

I believe that research scholars can put a great pressure on the authorities for the betterment of the situation of foreign workers. At the same time I feel that research people should be supported. I suggested to some of the foreign workers that we should support researchers.
They had two opinions:
1. NO!
2. Not yet.

I am not satisfied with the prevailing situation of foreign workers in Europe. I want to be a part of the forces that are struggling to change it. I believe that foreign workers themselves should struggle for such a change and that they should recognize their intellectual friends as well.
Just to find out about the thinking of foreign workers about their friends, the researchers, I prepared three questions:
1. What do you think about the researchers?
2. Are they doing something good for you?
3. Do you want to suggest something to them?

Both males and females were asked these questions. The males had the following qualifications:
1. University education from their homeland.
2. They can communicate in English or Norwegian, and want to participate in Norwegian society.
3. They have no European-type education.

The females had the following qualifications:

1. With education and working.
2. Housewife.

They answered as follows:

- I do not like to meet any research person. They sell my feelings.
- They promise and do not fulfill.
- They exploit us.
- Those who want to rise in their professional status become sympathetic to immigrants.
- It is a short-cut method.
- They come and ask questions and nothing changes.
- They sell our ideas.
- The come and meet us nicely, we treat them friendly and then we become friends. After friendship, an inquiry starts. They ask about things they already know.
- They cheat us.
- They want to show that they want to do things as we want, but they want to decide for us according to their own will.
- Their questions are as if they were police-people.
- I am always afraid of the questions.
- I do not like to answer questions.
- They do not want to listen to what I want to say.
- I always cheat them, because they cheat us.
- Have you become Norwegian? (said to the interviewer, stressing "you").
- They are just Norwegians.
- Nothing.
- They don't trust us.

The next seminar of research scholars ...

1. NO!
2. Not yet.

??????????????????????

What kind of research do we need?
Some remarks on research politics and research morals.
Frank Müller, Romanisches Seminar, Frankfurt/M.

1. In the following I will give a somewhat emphatic and over-accentuated outline of the particular type of social research with and for immigrants that I prefer. I'm not really trying to talk anybody into this particular conviction, how research in our area is to be carried out, nor do I think that there is only one possible and desireable type of research.

One reason, why I chose to give some comments on matters of the general orientation of research, rather than present own materials: I think that motivations, forms and goals for doing research with immigrants in 1978, i.e. six years away from 1984, do not get the necessary reflection, public attention and discussion. (This is also true of the Roskilde Conference, at least as far as I could participate in it). In 1984 probably there will be such a discussion, most probably however it will not be carried out by the people who really work with immigrants, but by professional researchers who research about the research motivations of professional immigrant-researchers. (Further developments of course possible).

Research-apparatusses and concerned institutions, in our field as in others, want to reproduce themselves, they grow bigger, eat up growing amounts of money and draw away from the human "objects" of their research. A recent UNESCO-report on immigrant research programs[1], carried out by Maurice Catani, whose intentions and political convictions I do not want to put in doubt, may be taken as a fore-shadowing and testimony for these developments: The growing

[1] M. Catani, Guide to the analysis and evaluation, from the social and cultural point of view, of training programmes for migrant workers and their families, UNESCO, Paris 1977

elaboration on theoretical levels is accompanied by a corresponding decline of immediately senseful practical and social activities of the researcher. It might be a useful check against very costly theoretical over-elaboration, to analyse the expenses of this research in terms of good meals the concerned researchers could have shared with immigrants or in terms of the number of bicycles they might have bought for the immigrant kids around the corner.

With this I do not want to argue here bluntly in favour of "social" and against "linguistic" research, one of the controversies of the conference, but rather want to provoke a discussion on the institutional conditions that impose a frame on "linguistic" as well as on "social" research, and in particular put 10 000 miles between the researchers and the "objects" of this research. Rather than develop endlessly more elaborated theoretical programs, based on only slight, standardized and fugitive contacts with immigrants, research work should have direct, continued and practical interaction with immigrants in the center and the theoretical reflection of these processes in the background.

2. Doing research in the first, second and more persons:
Reading through the preparing papers and also taking account of much of the discussions at the conference itself, there were - apart from a few notable exceptions-hardly any attemps by the reseachers to explain and discuss their own personal and political involvement in the kind of work they do. In many cases of course one could see and feel this involvement and from this point of view it was a good meeting. Nevertheless it remained very inexplicit and it seems as if questions of the personal involvement, difficulties, attitudes, intentions of the researchers themselves are not

regarded as worthwile, serious or important enough to be a theme for public discussions among scientists and at best merit a private or literary treatment. (The poem translated and read by Jacob at the conference was very good). Thus on the surface it looks as if there were a number of given pedagogical, cultural and linguistic questions and tasks somewhere "in the air" and people just go to work. I'm sure that many of the people who met in Roskilde have deeper motivations than just reasons of career or a survival within given institutions to do the work they do, but in public hardly anything of this comes out.

This lack of open personal respect for oneself in the research process is parallelled by that for the immigrants. In too many projects they appear only in the form of samples, populations, necessary data producers. Hardly anywhere are they present as persons with cultural, political, familial and personal life-histories of their own. If it is true what the opening of the Zisa preparing paper says:

> "It is well known that the main problem of the foreign workers in Germany is their isolation from and social neglect by native Germans.."

then this social neglect is continued in the marginal status of the immigrants within the research process in most projects.

Methodologically this lack for personal interest in the immigrants is shown in the prevalence of large scale cross section studies, where a higher number of "subjects" is observed for an extremely brief interval, whereas longitudinal studies, where a more limited number gets a better chance to appear really as subjects, are the exception.

There is also the question of growing dimensions of research in our area: More and bigger projects keep appearing. On one hand one is glad to see the community is growing, things

are being undertaken for the immigrants. On the other hand: Within a short time big projects will be competing for money, reputation, publications, as in any other area. Already at this time most projects, in particular the larger ones, depend on external, non-University financing, i.e. produce results wanted and bought by public institutions.

The growing dependency will, among other things, lead to a stronger pressure to produce results in the shortest possible time. The looser of this development towards a market-induced and exaggerated importance that is accorded to quickly produced, nice and hard results will be the research process itself, which becomes still more professionalized and bureaucraticized, degenerates into a boring office work as it is carried out in a marketing company, looses the qualities that made it interactive, stimulating and innovative. Under external financial and bureaucratic pressure one has to legitimate oneself permanently and is forced to do so just to stay in the game. It is becom ing more and more difficult under those conditions to let the research process slowly evolve itself according to its own rhythm, to develop new ideas, change methods, interests and participants on the way, to do the thing one really wants to do and identify oneself with, to take pleasure in the process and give the immigrants a chance to do so as well.

A further problem of the growing dependency of research in our area on public institutions is a growing fragmentarisation and indirectness of research activities: In extreme cases the research group has neither really initiated the work it does, nor does it have any influence to control and practice the results it has worked out, but produces for a long, complicated and non-transparent chain of institutional applications and re-applications, completely out of its reach. Put somewhat dramatically, the research group thus works out laboriously a small piece that has to fit in the big puzzle

already in place when the group starts to work. It also actively furthers and deepens the separation into the categories of those, who work out recipes at the green table and those, who have to apply them in practical contexts.

3. Short ways: If this somewhat frustrating picture should turn out to be true, what can one do? It is of course neither desireable nor possible to go back into the "ivory tower" of a distant, independent and comforable research work "audessus de la melée". On the other hand, though the description above may be somewhat exaggerated, I seriously think that the machinery of big scale immigrant research projects contains grave deficiencies of interaction and a latent disrespect for the two main subjects involved, the researchers themselves and the immigrants.

As a way out I regard small scale projects of a certain type, that engage in more direct interaction, try to re-evaluate the interactive qualities of the research process over against hard data results and make it an immediate answer to communicative problems between natives and immigrants. Projects of this type, like the CAD(Cooperative Arbeitsdidaktik) or the "Kontaktladen" of Kumm/Harnisch/Barkowski, to mention two examples from Berlin, have several advantages; they shorten the ways, in particular:

They can reduce the immense gap between distant, academic observers on the one and observed subjects on the other hand. In most projects the researchers appear briefly out of their offices, have a sharp look at the immigrants and disappear back into the office. Social research should also be a social activity of the people carrying it on. Instead of seeing one's own interactive influence as a disturbing factor and a variable to be neutralized and minimized as far as possible in order to get clean data, a research group can

make its own developments, failures and successes within continued interaction with immigrants the very basis of the research prccess. The immigrant subjects in such a research process get a chance of active participation and the researcher to use his knowledge, insights and communicative capacities in practical tasks outside of the office. Research work gets a healthy direct confrontation with real-life problems and is given the chance to learn from checks arising out of real-lif situations, instead of always trying to model the world from the office desk.

Shortened can be also the long, complicated and expensive relations and mediations between initiators, producers, buyers, appliers and re-appliers of research results. Groups that work within the frame proposed have a better chance to shortcircuit these alienating interrelations. Research work can be less fragmented: Groups do not have to produce anymore only for third and fourth applications of their results by very distant further institutions, but control at least one, their own practical use of their insights. This is also a contribution towards a shortening of the distance between theory-people, who produce recipes sitting at green tables, and practice-people, who just have to apply them in practical contexts.

To sum up, I think social research in our area would gain, if it contained less claims on abstract representativity and more personal involvement, if it felt less responsible towards a general "Öffentlichkeit" and more towards a smaller and more concrete radius of self-initiated own activities, if it would "cultiver son propre jardin" rather than work for the big puzzle of 1984.

I repeat, I do not think that everybody has to go the same way. For a good way-instruction - many thanks also to Hartmut Haberland, who is really good at way-instructions -

see the invitation to the Roskilde Conference: "How to get there? Motel Risö is situated... about half way between the Roskilde Universitetscenter and the Nuclear Research Station".

4. I want to close by mentioning a few important marginal events of the conference. (When social scientists meet, it is always interesting to see how their actual behaviour reflects aspects of the communicative solutions they propose on the scientific level. Recently I had a chance to see a UNESCO-meeting of immigrant researchers. It was a real "Chefetage", chilling you to the bone. Thinking back to Roskilde gave me something to hold on.)

I liked the way how the conference arose, as a non-institutional initiative of a few persons, and how it was carried on in an open and flexible way. (Much work must have been behind that).

For me the way to Roskilde was prepared by a private Bürger-initiative of Norbert Dittmar (see below), that made it possible for me to get there in a collective, stimulating and cheap way, discussing research topics - some of them mentioned above - with Brigitte Behrens and Inken Keim. The best preparation for a conference you can think of.

Damn the brakes of Norbert's car though. Driving around in the snow with rotten brakes in a Viking-town in Denmark was like being in a - science and fiction - movie. Arriving in Roskilde it was nice to find people who offered non-institutional living and sleeping places.

Appendix

First Scandinavian-German Symposium on
The Language of Immigrant Workers and Their Children
Motel Risø near Roskilde, Denmark
19 - 23 March, 1978

PROGRAM

Sunday, 19 March

1600 Registration

1800 Dinner

Monday, 20 March

0800 Breakfast

1000 Morning session

Chair: Tove Skutnabb-Kangas
Welcoming (Tove Skutnabb-Kangas)
The muted voice of the guest workers: the situation of the immigrants in Denmark (Finn Korzen)
The situation of the immigrants in Sweden (Jorma Kuusela and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas)
The situation of the immigrants in Norway (Inger-Helene Arnestad)

1230 Lunch

1400 Afternoon session

Chair: Inger Helene Arnestad
The situation of the immigrants in West Germany:
Legal and social situation (Ingeborg Senft and Bert-Olaf Rieck)
Language teaching to adults (Ulrike Harnisch and Hans Barkowski)
The situation of the adolescents (Antje K. Menk)
Language teaching to children (Wilfried Stölting)
Using language typology in contrastive studies (Björn Hammarberg and Åke Viberg)

1800 Dinner

Tuesday, 21 March

0800 Breakfast

0900 Morning session

Chair: Kenneth Hyltenstam
On determining developmental stages in natural second language learning (Jürgen Meisel and Manfred Pienemann)
Ordering adult learners according to language abilities (Norbert Dittmar)

1230 Lunch

1400 Afternoon session

Chair: Anne-Marie Heltoft
Some remarks on foreigner talk (Michael Clyne)
Some minimal requirements for the teaching of language to foreign workers (Jacob Mey)
What language does the immigrant need - introductory provocation to group discussions (Börje Viberg)
Group discussions - Plenary discussion

1900 Dinner

2000 Women's meeting

Wednesday, 22 March

0800 Breakfast

0900 Morning session

Chair: Antje-Katrin Menk
What can we use the linguist for? (Christian Becker-Christensen and Anne-Marie Heltoft)
The role of phonetics in language teaching (Nina Thorsen and Robert Bannert)
Group discussion

1230 Lunch

1400 *Sightseeing in Roskilde*

Visit to Roskilde University Center (with a short introduction to RUCs structure and history)

1800 Dinner

2000 Parasession on Bicultural Education *and* Party at RUC
(group discussion)

Thursday, 23 March

0800 Breakfast

0900 Morning session

Chair: Norbert Dittmar and Jacob Mey
Failures of a language-learning system based on the ideology and models of learning of the country of production (Carolyn Swetland and Saeed Anjum)
How to teach German to foreign workers: transfer from classroom teaching to everyday life (Hans Barkowski and Ulrike Harnisch)

1230 Lunch

1400 Closing session

Chair: Ulf Teleman and Hartmut Haberland
What kind of research do we need?
Closing remarks (Hartmut Haberland)

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